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INSTINCTS IN INDUSTRY

BY

ORDWAY TEAD

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TO employers who want to know 'what is the matter' with their employes, what the feelings and instincts of their fellow-workers are, what impulses determine their efficiency, we recommend 'Instincts in Industry.' Practical manufacturers who have been impatient with the 'theorists' who have written voluminous and unreadable volumes on industrial efficiency can spend a very profitable couple of hours with this author, who has gathered his material at first hand, dealing with labor problems as an industrial counsel."

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INSTINCTS IN INDUSTRY

Instincts in Industry

A Study of
Working-Class Psychology

By
Ordway Tead

Boston and New York
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TO
MY PARENTS

WHEN *it is known what types of instinctive mechanisms are to be expected, and under what aspects they will appear in the mind, it is possible to press inquiry into many obscurer regions of human behavior and thought, and to arrive at conclusions which while they are in harmony with the general body of biological science have the additional value of being immediately useful in the conduct of affairs.*

WILLIAM TROTTER
in *The Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*

PREFACE

THERE has thus far been little serious study of the industrial activities of manual workers in the light of our increasing body of knowledge about human nature and the structure of human beings. The fears, ambitions, attitudes, and achievements of working-people have been studied in relation to economic history, climate, ethics, and religion; but attempts to show the connection of their conduct with the realities of human nature are few. This is to be regretted because there is reason to believe that an examination of human behavior in industry will disclose vital relationships between those maladjustments which we call "labor problems," and the functioning of that complex of inherent tendencies and acquired characteristics which is human nature. In due course such examination promises to lead to a vastly better understanding of events and their causes, and to a deliberate attempt to mold the world nearer to the necessities of the nervous system and the mind.

A comprehensive survey of man's conduct in industry, of his endowments and capacities in the light of modern anthropology and the so-called "behavioristic" psychology, is beyond the scope of the present study. The aim is far less ambitious. It is to show, by means of a varied collection of facts, incidents, and anecdotes, that *human conduct tends to become not only more intelligible but more amenable to control as we view it in the light of an understanding of the*

instinctive mainsprings of action. And a further limit is set by reason of my confining myself to the behavior of manual workers. I have three reasons for thus concentrating attention upon working-class conduct.

First, it is now all too plain that the undercurrents of industrial unrest and discontent which come to the surface with increasing frequency have had their source in an unconscious but tremendously effective repression of human aspiration and desire. The release of energy and vigor, which is needed to clear the air, will not come until we see human nature as it is.

Second, the mind of the worker is grievously misunderstood. At a time in the country's history when a common knowledge of the motives and attitudes of its manual workers is most imperative, we have little real understanding of people which traverses class lines. Efforts toward "social justice" or "industrial democracy" are doomed to be fumbling and inept if there is no attempt to envisage and reckon with a point of view among the workers which is the inevitable by-product of the treatment of any human being under similar circumstances.

And third, the "psychology," or mental processes and habits, of the employers as a class has already been interpreted by other writers.[1]

At this hour in the world's history beyond any other, the task of shaping a civilization in which the democratic enterprise can be further experi-

[1] See: Frank W. Taussig, *Inventors and Money-Makers;* Werner Sombart, *The Quintessence of Capitalism.*

mented with in safety, carries with it an extraordinary challenge. The experiment cannot go far unless we know the conditions under which the individual can act safely from the point of view of his own mental integrity. What demands can the world confidently make upon each of us in terms of our capacity to coöperate, to act with discrimination, to perpetuate a sound physical and mental inheritance — what demands can it make and be reasonably sure that each of us will or can deliver, can go the pace? What, every thoughtful student of reconstruction is asking, are the limitations which our physical and nervous inheritance imposes upon human achievement; and what are the positive human forces which can surely be counted on as the rock-bottom basis for any stable readjustment?

A study of the limitations upon human achievement is in effect a study of the forces at work to make conduct what it is. To know these forces requires that we identify the elements of human nature. This is our first task. Recent psychological research has thrown real light upon this problem, and while there is no absolute consensus of opinion as to the elements of human nature (and especially as to the names of these elements), there is a reasonable agreement among psychologists upon the nature of the essential human characteristics. With these in mind, I propose to state and consider a variety of examples of familiar types of behavior in industry to see, in the second place, to what extent conduct does become more intelligible in the light of a knowledge of psychological habits and predispositions.

In other words, this study will proceed from two known factors — the human impulses and the conduct of people in industry — to some third fact, to whatever conclusion about the relation of these two, which a study of them admits.

This customary method of proceeding from the known to the unknown has determined the confessedly artificial method of treatment of this study. The vital instincts of human beings are enumerated and, in connection with each, illustrations of conduct are considered which seem to reveal the operation of specific innate influences. Nevertheless no precise pigeon-holing of activity is intended and it should not, of course, be countenanced. Conduct can probably never be submitted to completely accurate dissection. It can never be tied up in neat parcels and tagged as embodying this or that instinct alone. The unknown and unmeasured causal elements are legion. The best that we can do is to make a beginning in interpretation. And in such beginnings it is inevitable that facts which I use to exemplify the influence of one instinct will appear to the reader to indicate the prompting of some other tendencies either singly or in combination.

Illustrations are, therefore, to be taken not so much as making out a case for the relation between *any one* instinct and activity, but rather as showing the vitally dynamic relation between *the total* of instinctive predispositions and activity. Directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, some one or a combination of instincts is destined to have a hand in conditioning the

critical choices of conduct. Because this is true, it becomes our business in the troubled affairs of industry to find out what instincts are operative and in what ways they determine and limit behavior.

In order, then, to be quite clear as to the limits within which the present study is undertaken, let me recapitulate before proceeding. I am not attempting here to interpret conduct in terms of any arbitrary classification of instincts, or to attribute specific courses of complex activity to unduly simple motives. The aim throughout is *to establish an understanding point of view toward familiar activities in the industrial world* — a point of view which construes human behavior as having an organic relation to the human nervous system and its environment, past and present.

The value of this method of approach to the human problems in industry has only recently been grasped. But there is justification for the hope that scientific knowledge of human nature can give us a sound basis for concrete attack upon industrial maladjustment; can offer practical suggestions as to ways of squaring industrial practices with known facts about human nature, and can afford an approximately sound basis for prophesying the course which events will take under given circumstances. It is to point out what this justification is and to suggest the hopes about industrial life to which it gives rise that this study is devoted.

With this purpose in view my volume is addressed to all who have contacts with the workers — who must deal with them, speak for them or of them. The book is an effort toward a better

understanding of people in their capacity as manual workers. My endeavor is to provide a weapon by which the mind can — so far as this is intellectually possible — envisage the problems of human beings in different economic strata, can cut across class lines, see over class barriers and overlook group antagonisms. Today as never before, the professional men, the employer, the employment manager and foreman, the labor leader and social worker — all are under the necessity of knowing what the workers are thinking and feeling, of discovering the content of their mental life and the impulses by which they are moved.

To the brain-workers this volume is addressed in the hope that the great gulf which separates them from the hand-workers of the world may in the years of reconstruction be narrowed, and a common ground be discovered for coöperative effort toward a social organization which will make use of the best in human nature.

I have, finally, a profound indebtedness to acknowledge. This book is my own only in the sense that I have elaborated the suggestions of a friend. I met Professor Carleton H. Parker, then of the University of California, when he came to New York in the winter of 1916–17. And in the course of a conversation about the way in which a knowledge of modern psychology explains and renders intelligible the behavior of people, he said: "I should think that your work in factories would bring to your attention many admirable illustrations of this. You ought to collect them."

Professor Parker's untimely death prevented

me from submitting to him this evidence of my obedience to his suggestion. I can only make this tardy acknowledgment of obligation, and hope that the present volume proves a not too inadequate testimonial of my gratitude and of my desire to give currency to a point of view which Professor Parker was eager to see extended.

O. T.

New York City,
July 15, 1918.

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INSTINCTS IN INDUSTRY

CHAPTER I

WHAT ARE THE INSTINCTS?

THERE was in operation for some years at the leper colony off the Philippine Islands a system of weekly gratuities to each man, woman, and child confined in the island colony. From the women and children no accounting for this subsidy was required. But from the men a certain amount of manual labor about the island was exacted upon penalty of having the pocket-money withheld. From the administrative point of view this had seemed an easy solution for the difficult problem of getting adequate labor in an isolated place inhabited largely by the victims of a dread disease. But the men patients took vigorous exception to this form of compulsory labor and finally made complaint about it to the Philippine Government. An investigation into the unrest at the leper colony was instituted and the Secretary of the Interior visited the island and heard all

complaints in person. As a result of his study the system of gratuities for the men was wiped out. And the necessary work on the island was paid for at an agreed rate which, it appeared later, was less than the previous gratuity. Nevertheless, the men found the new system preferable; there was no more complaint; the necessary work was done; the men who were inclined to work received their weekly stipends and the others did not. But from that day to the present, trouble on this score has been unheard of.

This is a true story of the instincts in industry. It illustrates how a practical appreciation of the deep-seated characteristics of human beings sheds light on actual issues. The tendencies to self-assertion which are more or less strong in all people had prompted these men to rebel at a condition of what they conceived to be compulsory labor. Their desire for self-direction and for self-expression in their work was thwarted and an unhappy state of mind resulted. The Secretary of the Interior, conscious of unsoundness in the situation, proceeded in a way calculated to remove the cause

of the trouble; and by an intelligent handling of the question of work in its relation to pay, he recognized and dignified the claims of human nature while at the same time meeting the obvious demand for a supply of labor.

We have here a man responsible for the direction of other men. We have a correct perception of the way to handle a delicate (if comparatively simple) human situation. It is highly doubtful whether the Secretary consciously undertook any elaborate analysis to discover what instincts had been repressed, or made any reasoned reference to a formulated conception of human nature and its demands. But it still is true that he acted wisely because his action did square with the facts of the mental life and structure of human beings. If, in addition to acting shrewdly because of native common sense, the Secretary had had in the back of his mind a fairly clear idea of the instinctive desires and emotional characteristics of people, his decisions might have been uniformly wise and effective in handling similar questions.

Most leaders of men are natively shrewd in

dealings with their fellows. But they would, like this Secretary of the Interior, profit by a more graphic knowledge of human nature. Now they consult a knowledge of people's reactions gained through long personal experience. They might, I should like to show in this book, consult a wider knowledge, refer their problems to a body of fairly stable facts and inferences, which promises to throw light on conduct and motive. This method of approach, which sees conduct in terms of the inherent dispositions of human nature, is immensely suggestive and illuminating. We can, I believe, come to a profound understanding of the elements of the labor problem from this angle of vision, — an understanding made possible by increasing knowledge about the working of the human mind.

Human behavior ranges in its complexity from the simple reflexes of the physical organism to elaborate courses of conduct planned out long in advance of the performance. Between these extremes we find conduct of every degree of deliberate control and self-direction. Given this possible range for behavior, the

problem is to get a sense for that type of activity which is most prevalent. We want to know the dominant characteristics, the normally prevailing influences which are helping to shape the action of ordinary people under representative conditions. That is why I am here considering the relations of instinct to conduct. For it is the instincts, I believe we shall find, that have as much to do in the long run with the determination of people's conduct as any other single factor. That is not to say that instinct exercises exclusive control in behavior. By no means — unless the word "instinct" be applied in a loose and uncritical way. Scientifically, as we shall presently see in defining the word, instincts are only those forces in our mental life which appear to have a deep-rooted basis in the nervous structure of the individual and the race. It is, indeed, because instinctive behavior has this universal quality — because the instinctive endowments of men as "domesticated higher mammals" are inherently and broadly speaking identical the world over — that an understanding of the place of instinct in the initia-

tion of human conduct is so important. If we can visualize the part that instincts, singly and in combination, are playing day by day in the affairs of men, we shall have gone a long way toward a knowledge of the inner reason for the vast majority of human events.

We shall require for this task a preliminary statement of the nature of instinct and of the more or less simple elements into which for purposes of analysis the instinctive equipment of human beings may be divided. These are needed in order not only to make more easy the work of interpreting conduct, but also to put us on our guard against certain popular assumptions which are in danger of creeping in and leading to conclusions at variance with the facts. We must not, for example, assume that conduct is the manifestation of a pure and uncomplicated instinct; that instincts dictate and control conduct to the exclusion of all other factors; that the promptings of instinct offer a safe guide to conduct; or that the full satisfaction of an instinct is either necessary or desirable.

That these assumptions are inadequate and inaccurate will be seen only when "instinct"

is defined and its manifestations illustrated. For scientific purposes the word is narrowly limited in content and application. First, therefore, I shall avail myself of two accredited definitions, which supplement each other most helpfully:—

We may define an instinct as an inherited or innate psycho-physical disposition which determines its possessor to perceive, and to pay attention to, objects of a certain class, to experience an emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or, at least, to experience an impulse to such action.[1]

Instinctive behavior comprises those complex groups of coördinated acts which, though they contribute to experience, are, on their first occurrence, not determined by individual experience, which are adaptive and tend to the well-being of the individual and the preservation of the race; which are due to the coöperation of external and internal stimuli; which are similarly performed by all members of the same more or less restricted group of animals; but which are subject to variation and to subsequent modification under the guidance of individual experience.[2]

[1] See William McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 29.

[2] See C. L. Morgan, on "Instinct," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Ed.), vol. xiv, p. 648.

The essential points in these definitions are almost identical. They both agree that the individual is born with certain fairly pronounced dispositions or tendencies. These tendencies are variable; they are adaptive; they are held in check by the desire for preservation. In other words, the biological economy, instead of requiring each organism to learn anew the whole wide range of experience which is safe and has "existential value," (to borrow James's phrase,) endows each organism with a strongly compelling urge to activities which contribute to survival. We speak loosely of an instinct of self-preservation. In fact, each instinct's *raison d'être* is to protect, conserve, and perpetuate the individual or the species. If this be true, the central fact is not the individual instinct, but rather the strength of the tendency to survival. So that specific instincts, while tending with differing intensity from time to time to usurp a leading rôle in people's lives, are normally held in check and counterbalanced not only by other instincts, but by an imperious will to live.

Understanding of this truth is vital to a clear

conception of the widely varying influences which different instincts exert on individuals and groups at different times. No less necessary to this understanding is an appreciation of two other universal tendencies which most psychologists agree in omitting from their lists of instincts, but which play a considerable part in determining conduct. The tendency to do what we see others doing — suggestibility or imitativeness — has always to be reckoned with as a modifying force. And the tendency to act in habitual ways, along lines of least resistance, because the individual has acted that way before and a "brain path" is already formed — this is a distinctly qualifying factor in behavior. We have always to remember, in short, that tendencies to act safely, to act in line with strong suggestions and in line with previous actions, are at work to modify the dictates of instinct, and to overthrow any calculations based on the assumption that "pure instinct" is ever in the saddle.

What specific instincts are there, then, which may have a causal relation to conduct in industry? Unfortunately there is no complete

agreement among scholars as to the number and character of the instincts, and it is no easy matter to adopt a terminology which is not open to the charge of inaccuracy from some quarter. In this situation, devoted as the present study is to the practical purpose of seeing how facts about a certain aspect of human nature throw light upon people's conduct, I can only do my best to steer a middle road between the ultra-scientific and the ultra-popular.

I am, in short, less interested in the names of mental phenomena than in the facts behind those names. And we do find to-day a fairly universal agreement upon the general nature of those facts. For the purpose in hand I shall, therefore, name the instincts in accordance with the trend generally manifested in recent psychological literature.[1] The instincts whose

[1] See in this connection: William James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. II, chap. XXIV; William McDougall, *Social Psychology;* Maurice Parmelee, *The Science of Human Behavior;* Graham Wallas, *The Great Society*, chaps. I-X; William Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War;* Thorstein Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship*, especially the Introduction; Edward L. Thorndike, *The Original Nature of Man* (vol. I in *Educational Psychology*); Wesley C. Mitchell, "Human

functioning throw light upon human behavior as it is revealed in industry are (1) the parental instinct, (2) the sex instinct, (3) the instinct of workmanship, (4) the instinct of acquisitiveness, (5) the instinct of self-assertion, (6) the instinct of self-abasement, (7) the herd instinct, (8) the instinct of pugnacity, (9) the play impulse, (10) the instinct of curiosity. Since we are less concerned with the constituent nature of these impulses than with the character of the behavior to which they prompt, it is irrelevant to discuss whether certain of them are or are not reduced to their simplest terms. Scholars may decide that the impulse to workmanship is only a specific manifestation of the instinct of self-assertion or that the herding tendency is a complex of the pugnacious, parental, and some other instincts. Their decisions will affect only slightly the validity of the conclusions reached by such studies as this. My aim is to estimate the influences exerted in industry by

Behavior and Economics," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November 1915; C. G. Jung, *The Theory of Psycho-Analysis;* I. I. Metchnikoff, *The Nature of Man.*

widely acknowledged constitutent elements of human nature, — not to subject those elements to more refined analysis.

The order in which the instincts have been listed and will be discussed indicates no opinion as to their relative importance. The relative strength of instinctive responses necessarily varies from group to group and from individual to individual depending on many factors which it will eventually be necessary to consider.

Armed with this brief outline of the nature of instinct and of the names of our fundamental tendencies, we can proceed to consider whether or not under scrutiny the conduct of people tends to become more intelligible and perhaps more susceptible to wise control than is now the case. Only one further qualification is necessary before undertaking this major inquiry. The foregoing paragraphs have assumed an identity between "human nature" and the sum of our instinctive endowments. This is not wholly accurate. Figuring in human nature are to be found "reflexes" and "tendencies"; to say nothing of the fact that

differences of race, climate, and civilization (to name only three) may so modify human organisms as to cause radical differences in what is in substance our "unchanging and inherent" human nature. The present discussion, as its name implies, is attempting to discuss only the working-out of the instincts in industry. It has not attempted that immensely needed exposition of human nature in our economic life which will do justice to the complexities of the problems of contact and adjustment between individuals and groups.

CHAPTER II

THE PARENTAL INSTINCT

THE conduct prompted by the parental instinct is calculated to further the existence and happiness of one's immediate family. We invest liberally in the well-being of those closest to us — an investment of time, thought, and personality — until they are literally "our own," part and parcel of our beings. Parents, wife, and children become an extension of a man's self, and his instinctive desire for survival, mastery, and acquisition are naturally extended to include participation by his family in his own satisfactions.

It is illuminating to see in what contrary ways this desire to provide for one's own can express itself. There are South European peasants who will not emigrate to America until they can come all together as a family; and actuated by the same motives there are those who will not allow their families to brave the uncertainties of the trans-Atlantic trip until

they have gone ahead and established themselves in comfort in the new world. The woman who will not enter the mills, because her children will be left continually in the street uncared for and without a home, is prompted by the same impulse as is the operative who accompanies her husband to work in order to increase the family income and thus provide a better home. Unfortunately the mill-owners have themselves taken a hand in making the latter expression of the parental instinct the necessary one. And the idea is now well established in our Northern textile cities that wages will be paid, not on a family, but on an individual, basis — on the assumption that all adult members of the family will work to bring in sufficient weekly income for the family. It is this same prompting which makes the low-paid pregnant mother conceal her condition and keep at the loom or spindles until she is sent home by the overseer only a few days or weeks before her confinement. The parental desire is there; the mother is anxious to provide all she can in advance of the child's coming, and her very zeal is in danger of defeating its own ends.

For we know only too well the abnormally high death-rate of babies in mill towns where the mothers go out to work.

The same diversity of behavior is to be seen in connection with the reactions of workers to strikes. Men have again and again refused to join or sanction a strike, or having joined, they have abandoned it, because they could not bear to see their families even temporarily deprived of their meager means of support. This was patently true in the New York street-railway strike in 1916 where, because of tactics on the part of the labor leaders which the public believed to be unfair, public support of the strike was withdrawn and the men were left to continue a nominal strike and face starvation, or to return to work and acknowledge defeat. Faced with these alternatives most of the men chose to return to work and provide for their families — and the strike was lost. The brutality of the conflict in cases of this sort may become acute. In another large city, during a recent street-car strike, strike-breakers were imported and trained. The strike wore on for several months and when a

settlement was finally effected there were over four hundred former employees for whom the transit company could find no place and who had in consequence to turn elsewhere for employment and subsistence. Here again in the complex of current economic forces a legitimate and necessary individual impulse and group agitation for better wages led to results which, temporarily at least, were disastrous to the participants. Obedience to instinct alone did not bring the desired benefits.

In his "Strife" Mr. Galsworthy has with classic restraint set forth the universal conflict and the anguish to which the intrusion of the alternatives of loyalty to family or to fellow-workers give rise. Readers of that play will remember the figure of Roberts, leader of the men, making his valiant speech to the strikers "in the gray, fading light" of a winter afternoon. "'T is not for this little moment of time," he is saying, "we're fighting not for ourselves, our own little bodies, and their wants, 't is for all those that come after throughout all time. . . . If we can shake that white-faced monster with the bloody lips, that has sucked

the life out of ourselves, our wives and children, since the world began. If we have not the hearts of men to stand against it breast to breast . . . it will go on sucking life; and we shall stay forever what we are, less than the very dogs." And in the awed silence, as the tragic conclusion to his plea, comes the message, "Your wife is dying"; and he knows that his supreme choice has worn to death the frail woman whom he loves.

Workers have in some cases reluctantly joined a strike because they would not submit to the stigma to which the family of the "scab" is heir. "It is no use," says one trade-unionist, "playing at shuttlecock in this important portion of our social life. Either mingle with these men in the shaft, as you do in every other place, or let them be ostracised at all times and in every place. Regard them as unfit companions for yourselves and your sons, and unfit husbands for your daughters. Let them be branded, as it were, with the curse of Cain, as unfit to mingle in ordinary, honest, and respectable society. Until you make up your minds to thus completely ostracize these goats of man-

kind, cease to complain as to any results that may arise from their action." [1] Such ostracism for one's wife and the indignities which one's children must undergo at the taunting hands of the neighbors' children, are, even if only temporary, enough to make the most stolid individual reflect before refusing to stand by his fellows.

In its special report on the Bisbee, Arizona, deportations, the President's Mediation Commission [2] said that "Many of those who went out did not in fact believe in the justice of the strike, but supported it, as is common among working-men, because of their general loyalty to the cause represented by the strikers and their refusal to be regarded in their own estimation, as well as in the minds of fellow-workers, as 'scabs.'"

Again, other workers have rushed gladly into action at a strike call because they have been taught to see that collective action gets

[1] Quoted by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trade-Unionism*, p. 280.

[2] *Report of President Wilson's Mediation Commission*, on the Bisbee, Arizona, deportations, November 6, 1917.

results which means more food and clothing. Interesting evidence of the direct action which comes when this idea becomes fixed, not only in the minds of the workers, but of their families, is seen in the following excerpt from a strike story in the *Boston Herald* of February 22, 1917:—

The women's demonstration reached a climax in the riot following a meeting held late to-day. The wives, mothers, and daughters of the strikers determined to march in a body to the refinery and demand that the concession sought by the men be granted. As they marched through the streets, the women cried that they were starving.

The women were led to the refinery by Mrs. Florence S——, thirty-three years old, who carried a baby in her arms, as she shouted encouragement to her followers. During the mêlée, as the police were about to open fire on the strikers who ran to the aid of their women-folk, a patrolman seized Mrs. S—— and dragged her and the baby to safety. She was arraigned and charged with inciting a riot.

As the striking employees ran toward the screaming group of women, police, mounted and on foot, flung a cordon about the riot zone. Many of the missiles struck the police, who began firing into the group of strikers. Scores of the workmen and police were hurt by flying missiles.

A riot call brought out every high official of

the police department and every available reserve south of M—— Street was rushed to the refinery. Superintendent of Police R—— ordered the closing of two saloons near the refinery. Most of the women in the riot were of foreign birth.

This quotation well illustrates how complex can be the origins of a course of conduct which seems simple only because it has become so familiar. We see a group of women leaving the quiet routine of tenement duties to help their husbands win more wages. One woman (probably for want of another place to leave him) carries her baby and finds herself, after her parental passion for the preservation of her child has abated, arraigned in court. The menfolk come to rescue the women from the hands of the police. The situation is complicated by the arrival of strike-breakers, who are thoroughly hated by the strikers for their anti-social behavior in striving to deprive them of employment. And a small riot is precipitated in which primitive impulses, not only parental, but the self-assertive, pugnacious, and herd instincts have ample opportunities for expression.

Those who followed the famous Lawrence,

Massachusetts, strike will remember the attempts which were made to appeal to the public's parental feelings by transporting the strikers' children to homes out of the city where they might be adequately cared for during the strike. The managers of the strike were unwittingly successful in this project because of the dramatic, unexpected, and apparently quite unwarranted, interference of the police at the railroad station where the children were to entrain. One party of children was not allowed to leave the city; and the publicity which this incident obtained and the opportunity which it afforded to call attention to the impoverished condition of the strikers' children, both helped greatly to strengthen the workers' cause in the public eye. The appeal was clearly and legitimately to the "heart interest," which is the man in the street's name for interests and ties of home and family which are near and dear.

There is a statement in the President's Mediation Commission Report [1] that in the Chi-

[1] *Report of the President's Mediation Commission to the President of the United States*, p. 16.

cago packing situation "the claim was made, and validly made, that the wage scales, particularly for the great body of unskilled workers, were inadequate in view of the increased cost of living." This maladjustment of wages to living costs has been a familiar attendant of the war situation and it has uniformly caused unrest. Nor should this cause surprise. The high cost of living threatens family life at its very roots. Perhaps the most moving bit of testimony offered before the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board at its Washington hearings was the faltering utterance of a gray-haired boiler-maker. "It's awful hard," he said, "to sit down to a good meal of meat and potato like what I have to eat to be able to work, and have the wife and the kids eat bread and tea. And the kids look at you with hungry eyes and try not to complain." The man realized the deep instinctive necessity for an income that would yield food enough for his entire family. He pointed to the fact that the cost-of-living argument in wage controversies is psychologically basic, is biologically unanswerable.

It is this fact which gives such great value to the declaration of Judge Alschuler in the packing industry dispute, that no wages should be paid below a reasonable "comfort" minimum; and to the announcement by the Taft-Walsh Labor Board that it favors as a national policy the payment of wages which cover the costs of subsistence.

Yet the demand for more money has, as the *Times Annalist*[1] points out, another aspect. The worker, it says —

> wants more than necessities. He wants the luxuries he believes the employer is enjoying as a result of the war. Even though his wages keep pace with the cost of living, he feels he is no better off than he would be with lower wages and a decreased living cost. In other words, his larger wages represent no profit which may be put aside as he believes the employer is putting aside millions, and, in many cases, a bonus only tends to increase the feeling because the worker often regards the bonus as nothing more than an attempt to dodge a demand for a well-deserved wage increase, or else, as an admission on the part of the employer that he is getting more out of his labor than is his legitimate right.

Unquestionably, this desire for something

[1] March 25, 1918.

in the pay envelope which covers more than a comfort minimum is compounded of several motives. But second to none in importance is the motive of desiring to attain status, permanence, security and respectability for one's family. A worthy motive surely, and one which the community can safely build on far more than it yet has. But in order to build on it the community must be at pains to help with the provision of the means which will give the instinct a chance to flourish.

A great deal of the working-man's theory and action about "holding down a job" is not readily understood by the public because its relations to his instinctive needs in general and to the parental desire in particular is ignored. There is a strong undercurrent of sympathy among manual workers in favor of "making work," "going it easy," limiting the number of workers at a job or craft, and opposing the application of machinery to jobs, which has its roots in the absolute necessity of having a job if one is to live and give one's family a living. This seems very simple to the worker, even if as a matter of psychology it

is quite complex. As long as he can keep the work going, he has a job. As long as there is a job, there is pay. As long as there is pay, there is sustenance for self and family.

An enlightening answer was given at one of the Pacific Coast hearings of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board to the question of a member of the board, "Do you feel that pay or the wages should be dependent in any way on the fitness of the man who gets the wages?" To which the union representative who was testifying replied, "Above the minimum I do. I believe the union should establish a minimum wage according to the circumstances of living, but it is entirely optional with the employer to grade his men according to their value above that scale."

The relation of all the much-condemned "ca'canny" policies to the desire for adequate family maintenance is direct and important. Indeed the immediacy of this necessity for holding fast one's job goes far to explain, if I may anticipate, why the instinct of workmanship is suppressed when a choice comes between doing a good job and doing a job at

the rate of speed the employer demands. Confronted, as the worker often believes he is, with the alternative of getting quantity (at the expense of quality) or of being discharged as a slow (if careful) worker, the choice of quantity put through in "slap-dash" fashion is inevitable, since this choice means a job and a living. Workmanship suffers accordingly and the worker's reputation for skill is questioned, rather than the adequacy of methods of selecting or training workers, of planning work or of estimating the amount of good work which can be done in a given time.

Robert Tressal, in an intimate study of English working-class life,[1] has naïvely brought together an accumulation of illustrations of this whole undercurrent of attitude and of the conditions which cause it. His entire story is a veritable source-book of specific and homely examples of how this and other instincts operate to determine conduct. Nothing could bear clearer testimony than does his narrative to the truth of my thesis, that we understand the

[1] *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*. Stokes, New York, 1914.

inwardness of events and enable ourselves to condition the circumstances of activity only when we know the elements of human motives and desires.

A remarkably shrewd practical application in industrial management of the idea that the way to a man's heart and mind is through his family interest and parental feeling is seen in the recent institution by a large corporation of a "plant mother." This "mother" is supposed to be motherly — to appeal to the men's respect and feeling for the maternal. It is her duty, using this motherly disposition and attitude as an entering wedge, to go among the men and help to straighten out their troubles with the management. And one of the most successful weapons of appeal with her is said to be that she puts employees' problems in family terms. For example, a man will want to quit because of a slight ruction with a fellow-worker or superior, whereupon she will remind him that his little Johnny should not be forced by father's unemployment to leave school to go to work or that another baby is coming in a couple of months and that he

must n't cause anxiety to "the wife." Upon the legitimacy of this type of appeal it is impossible to generalize; but it obviously has its limits and its dangers. Its interest for us lies simply in the fact that this method of human approach is consciously used to effect desired ends in industry and that its use brings results. This particular "plant mother," I am told, has been instrumental in reducing the labor turnover to an astonishing extent.

Another type of behavior which results from a combination of family pride with self-assertion and the desire to possess, is seen in the the struggle, familiar in working-class neighborhoods, to keep one's living standards on a par with and preferably superior to those of one's neighbors. The leisure class has no corner on conspicuous waste. Bleak, unused front parlors with crayon portraits of the father and mother at the time of marriage; the boasted size of the family subscription to the church-building fund; the well-concealed deprivation as a result of which the oldest daughter is sent to business college; — these are all evidences of a deep family feeling registering itself in the

way best calculated to impress the neighbors and advance the family status. The same motive is at work to prevent the wife of the regular city employee at $2.50 a day from having dealings with the wife of the casual day laborer who earns but $2 a day. English munition workers are not renowned for their love of music or ability to play the piano. Yet, "I was told," says a writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, "that in this purely working-class town the sellers of pianos on the hire system are doing the trade of their lives. The piano, of course, is the token of respectability in every artisan household." And as such its possession satisfies family pride and connotes prosperity and distinction.

The movement for continuation schools and a more thoroughly efficient industrial education in a Massachusetts mill city was blocked by trade-union officials who said that they were not interested in industrial training for *their* children, but preferred them to study piano, drawing, and millinery. And it is a commonplace of the New England textile cities, that English, Scotch, and Irish operatives will

not send their children to work in the mills where they have spent their own restricted lives. The result is that the children become clerks in the stores and banks, and, impelled by family ambition, are postponing marriage because they cannot afford to keep a family at the standard of living they believe necessary. The strength of the parental desire may, indeed, become a grave obstacle to being a parent if a person is doubtful of his ability to support a family on the scale which he knows is necessary for its proper maintenance. A desire that the children should have to work less hard than the parents, that they should have greater advantages, that their standards of living should be advanced — this can be counted upon to actuate any normal working-class parent in the present generation. The strength of this desire is adding momentum of daily increasing weight to the demands of disaffected workers for better terms and less arduous conditions of employment, and is augmenting incoherent unrest into a definite sense that labor is stunted, thwarted, and repressed in an ill-organized community.

Come what may, those who marry and have children, or those who intend to marry, are declaring in one way or another an imperious determination to provide decently for their own. In a new sense the hand that rocks the cradle wills to rule the world!

CHAPTER III

THE SEX INSTINCT

THE stubbornly insistent instinct of sex is perhaps less directly accountable than some others for conduct immediately associated with industry. But the effects of its suppression ramify in many directions with the result that they often play an unsuspectedly influential part in industrial problems.

There are, first, certain definite and direct relations between industrial practices and the promptings of sex which are of no little importance. There are industries like the textile, candy, and garment manufacturing where women employed by male foremen or employers are wholly dependent for employment upon the pleasure of the boss. And the power over a girl's destinies which this situation puts into a man's hands can be and has been abused. In New York dress- and waist-shops girls have actually been forced to strike to put a stop to the familiarities of a "superior officer" in the organization. In a small Massa-

chusetts town it was found to be an established practice for the superintendent of a mill to indulge his passions at the expense of any of his girl employees who were at all anxious to hold their jobs. And these cases might be multiplied. Where a man can prey upon girls sufficiently under cover to allow his intimidation to become complete, he can have his way with pitiful ease.

It is to be anticipated, however, that as the foreman's power to hire and discharge is more and more frequently transferred to a centralized employment department, abuses from this source will be reduced. An interesting illustration of this last point occurred in a factory which had a central employing office in absolute control of hiring and discharge. Many of the workers, who had previously been in a mill where the foreman was all-powerful, were accustomed to present him with gifts at Easter and Christmas. It was only with some difficulty that they could be persuaded that at the new factory it was unnecessary to continue the practice of bribing foremen in order to hold their jobs.

The administration of the Munitions Act in England brought to light difficulties in which the sex *motif* was dominant. The Act, before an amendment corrected the feature in question, required employees wishing to leave a "controlled establishment" to secure a "leaving certificate," the granting of which was in the hands of a local munitions tribunal.

A number of the women applied for their leaving certificates on the ground that a man employed also on the night shift had been "rude" to them. Pleading before a tribunal when the chairman and the two assessors were men, this was the way the girls, timid and reluctant to state exactly what had occurred, put their case. The chairman was refusing their applications on the grounds of insufficient evidence when a woman official of the Women's Federation . . . wrote on a slip of paper a brief account of what had really happened, and passed it up to the chairman. He was profoundly shocked, and after some questioning he discovered what the shy and frightened girls had really been subjected to and the case was decided in their favor.[1]

In quite a different direction we see the sex instinct, probably in combination with the

[1] London correspondent to *National Labor Tribune*. February 3, 1917.

impulse to self-assertion, prompting factory and store girls to bedeck themselves in raiment as superficially fine as it is fantastic. Fancy shoes, ostrich plumes, silk stockings, and thin shirt-waists — these are some of the adornments which not only embellish the person, but satisfy the starved emotional life of the working-girl. To attract and hold the attention of the male must always be a legitimate and dominant, if sometimes unconscious, motive of the female. For this reason the problem of getting women-workers — especially the young girls — to wear suitable clothes and adequate protection for their hair in machine-shop work is a formidable one. And there is no solution unless some form of costuming and hair-dressing is discovered which the girls agree is not too unbecoming.

The classic truth that woman's beauty arouses the interest and attention of men is capitalized in business in all sorts of ways. The dress models of the wholesale clothing shops of New York are undoubtedly an enormously important and determining factor in the sale of women's dresses. These girls,

chosen for their good figures and attractive appearance, walk about in front of the buyer begowned in the latest models, and their method of presentation may make or mar a sale. Similarly in other types of salesmanship, the beauty of the saleslady is an established and demanded part of the purchase. This is true in certain candy shops and restaurants. Indeed, there is one famous eating-house in New England which has achieved its reputation and popularity upon two items — its mince pie and the good looks of its waitresses. Men will stand in line waiting to be served by "my waitress" rather than go to another table where service might be more immediately obtained. These instances, it should be emphasized, are not cited in any invidious spirit. It is only important that we have consciously before us the psychological facts of the situation. We cannot and should not attempt necessarily to remove sex interest from industrial life. But we should proceed in whatever direction we take with open eyes, with full knowledge of the risks and dangers which we are setting in people's way. It is probable

that as our knowledge of human nature becomes more extensive and mature, this "exploitation of sex," which is an uncontested fact of contemporary industry, will serve ends which are joyous, social, and beautiful rather than selfish, ugly, and sinister. Advance in this direction waits upon a more profound understanding of the relation of sex to the creative activities of life.

The flowering of the sex instinct is frequently accompanied, at least for a time, by a heightened susceptibility to beautiful things and by a powerful urge to creative and serviceable activity. Energy surges vigorously and exuberantly in the springtime of life, and in some form or other this exuberance must work itself out. This has all been said many, many times, and yet our civilization continues with complete perversity to recruit the great majority of boys and girls from fourteen to twenty years old for work in offices and factories where the required pursuits are restrictive and repressive. Little positive and constructive material is presented to challenge and engage the mind of youth. The stuff of which dreams

are made and with which yearnings are satisfied is not there. In this critical, romantic period most work is emotionally unsatisfying, unbeautiful, and apparently purposeless.

The results can be easily forecast. The thoughts and activities of the young man or woman are a prey to the most insistent, that is the most instinctive, desires.[1] Hypersensitive concern for sex and all its demands becomes the almost inevitable condition. The all but pornographic appeal of the burlesque shows which circuit through manufacturing cities is made to an emotionally impoverished audience, largely of men, who have never been taught where to look for beauty and never given a chance to satisfy the dumb, expansive desires of youth.

[1] For extensive and discerning accounts of the relation of sex to working-class life see Jane Addams, *Spirit of Youth in the City Streets;* Woods and Kennedy, *Young Working Girls;* Mary K. Simkhovitch, *The City Workers' World.* See also the testimony regarding the sex life of the "California Casual," by Carleton H. Parker, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1915: "... In the California lumber camps a sex perversion within the entire group is as developed and recognized as the well-known similar practice in prisons and reformatories."

It was my enlightening duty to attend regularly for some weeks the shows at one of the most notorious burlesque houses in New England. The impression left by those *potpourris* of music, color, glitter, humor, legs, and lewdness is most instructive. For it was clearly true that while the vulgarity was universally enjoyed and even rolled as a sweet morsel under the tongue, the central values of the show were sound. It was ministering to legitimate psychological needs. The theater afforded a spacious, warm, and light abiding place after the narrow, dingy squalor of the tenements next door. The music, although not classic, was the symphony concert of the poor. There were bright color, pretty modish frocks, interesting changes of scene, and a thin thread of plot to tie the whole together. There was humor — largely of the slap-stick sort and very broad. And when the *ingénue* came down the aisle and got all the "boys" to whistling or singing one of the popular favorites, a real and complete emotional release and satisfaction was bestowed. Truly, it is hard to be censorious! We have a first duty of un-

derstanding. And the life of the tenement-dweller is not to be understood or improved until we make common cause with his essential humanness. That he is the victim of an overwhelming repression is the central fact of his emotional life.

Indeed, the sex instinct offers familiar illustration of this principle which seems to underlie the functioning of all innate tendencies, namely, that if a strong instinct is thwarted and the energy it summons is not turned into other satisfying channels, it still seeks its own satisfaction with increased intensity in a perverted form and with consequent indiscretion. This is the familiar "suppressed desire" of the Freudians. On the other hand, that there is a certain choice in the channels of instinctive expression, a real diversity of possible ways for the instincts to function, is a recent contribution to psychological theory which in its broader outlines has gained wide acceptance.[1]

The application of the theory to other instincts gives such fruitful results that it can constitute for the present a tentative working

[1] See Jung, *The Theory of Psycho-Analysis.*

hypothesis. Conduct which might otherwise appear to be completely capricious and malicious will be seen to be the perverted outcome of a cruel suppression of natural tendencies when viewed as tardy satisfactions of imperious impulses. And acts whose violence and extravagance are incomprehensible can be understood as the inordinate satisfaction of long inhibited desires. The facts of suppression, perversion, and unrestrained indulgence may appear most obvious in connection with sex phenomena. But the mental conflicts, the unconscious but carking yearnings for expression, the brave effort to gain an outlet in one direction when another is hopelessly blocked — these are common to other impulses as well. In fact the current industrial unrest is due in great part to the enormous accumulation of suppression which the instincts of workers have undergone in the grim effort to get a living.

The most important fact about the relation of sex to industry has already been suggested. We must become sex-conscious in our industrial dealings — conscious of the place and potency of sex, not in a smirking, apologetic

way, but conscious of it as an essential and essentially sound and wholesome constituent of human nature. It is not the knowledge of sex matters and motives that need alarm us so much as it is the use of this knowledge for ulterior and hurtful ends. We are at a point in our dealings with affairs of sex where our salvation is not in stopping halfway, but in going on, in making current and accepted the fact that our sex life is not an evil thing and that the promptings of sex are not vicious and low unless they are deliberately made so. And there is the further suggestion which any intimate knowledge of the grind of present-day industry provokes, namely, that the creative and expansive desires of youth furnish a fair and valid criterion in the light of which our productive mechanism is to be judged and evaluated as a channel and medium for human nature's unfolding.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSTINCT OF WORKMANSHIP CONTRIVANCE, OR CONSTRUCTIVENESS

THERE is in most people a fairly well-defined impulse to engage their energies upon some project which will grow under their hand — a delight in creation or at least in activity to which some use is imputed. Where the instinct of workmanship has been operative there is generally also a certain sense of proprietorship over the thing created. In fact the contriving impulse seems normally to manifest itself in conjunction with the possessive instinct. It may well be, therefore, that the thwarting of the sense of proprietorship explains why the workmanly tendencies are not more active than they are in the world of industrial manual labor.

The thesis that present-day methods of factory production offer little stimulus or satisfaction to the instinct of workmanship is already well established. The subdivision of tasks, the monotonous repetition, the speed-

ing-up of work — all militate against any vital sense of creativeness. Workers in most factories have rarely been outside of the department where they work and are often unable to tell the relation of their own product to the finished article. It was the profoundly significant remark of a well-known student of the feeble-minded that the mentally handicapped make the best machine feeders. The implied indictment of industrial processes as vehicles of the workmanly impulses of normal men is probably deserved.

The remark does at the same time suggest that the potency of this impulse is somewhat in proportion to the amount of the individual's physical and nervous energy. Those, for example, who have grown up in the mental aridity of a city slum or company-owned town, with little education, poor food, and long hours of work, often appear to find in unskilled, monotonous labor a really pleasant respite from the fatiguing complexity of life.[1] There is no call upon them

[1] See the evidence collected and presented in Graham Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 341. See also the testimony of Professor Hugo Münsterberg in chap. XVI, *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency*.

for craftsmanship, and if there were it would find them wearied and harassed by its exceptional demands. Devitalizing influences are in the ascendant and a call for creative workmanship would impose a burden which there is not energy enough to carry. This fact does not of course disprove the existence of the instinct. It shows rather that it atrophies where the whole being is occupied with the task of keeping going physically on a too narrow margin of vitality.

If, however, this instinct influences the conduct of normal people under ordinary conditions, how are we to account for the absence of craftsmanship in those branches of industry where there is still occasion for its use? There is in certain of the building trades, for example, a fairly continuous opportunity to use ingenuity, to do good work, to master thoroughly a technique the application of which to varied problems requires constant attention. Plumbers, masons, structural ironworkers, electricians, — all do work in which the instinct to contrive finds more or less expression. And yet there is chronic complaint

among the purchasers of their services that these artisans often do a poor job at a desultory pace. If this complaint has any elements of truth, as the unanimity with which it is voiced leads one to believe, how is the scarcity of good workmanship to be explained? Are there other instincts which determine conduct in these instances and inhibit the activity of the constructive impulse?

There is to-day a minimum of training in the skilled crafts. The apprentice system has proved ill-adapted to modern conditions. And no adequate substitute has yet been devised. Neither the employer nor the trade-unions have felt that they had the time or the money to spend in training workers. And there exist few public educational institutions in which ideals of workmanship can be properly fostered. In a word, one reason why better work is not done is that workmen do not know how to do it. Or if they do know how, they have often found in working for building contractors that their employers were more interested in getting work done on the date of delivery than in its quality.

A second tendency to be noted is the increasing use of building equipment which is already made up. Modern plumbing outfitting is manufactured in such a way that the workman has only to screw parts together. Wood-working is done almost entirely in door and window-sash factories. Where concrete takes the place of brick, the work requires brawn rather than deftness once the moulds are built. In short, there is evident, even in the work still remaining to the craftsman, a drift to ready-made equipment and greater division of labor.

Thirdly, there is throughout industry and particularly in the building trades, an astonishing insecurity in the tenure of employment. The holding of a job is of such vital importance to the worker that the terror of unemployment leads consciously and unconsciously to the adoption of a "make-work" policy, or a policy to do work, like plumbing-repair work for example, inefficiently in order that it may have to be frequently re-done.

There is, furthermore, no sense of ownership in the things created under present in-

dustrial conditions; one man builds and another occupies. Those who make clothing are not the best-dressed. The boot and shoe workers are not to be distinguished by superior footwear. The maid who washes her mistress's dishes is less careful than is the same maid five years later in her own home washing her own best china. The material which the modern wage-earner manipulates belongs to some one else; this is true when it is raw goods and when it is finished product.

Again, the sentiment against the "profiteer" arises from a recognition that he is always "on the make," less interested in quality than in his own returns. The profiteer to-day dramatizes in the worker's mind the anomalous fact of the possibility under present conditions of making a living by owning and bargaining rather than by working. So that when to this consciousness of working that another may enjoy is added rankling feeling of a strange injustice inherent in the industrial system, indifferent workmanship is not hard to explain.

It has also to be remembered that the working pace of manual workers has to be set in

relation to a lifetime of employment at the same type of work. This truth is often lost sight of by casual observers of those workmen who appear to be so completely dilatory in their working tactics. And what is more serious, this is often ignored by the "time-study" experts who are interested in setting a daily or hourly "task" for the worker and who are likely to demand a speed that would "scrap the men at forty." All pace-setting, all speeding-up, must, if it is to be just and socially expedient, bear in mind that a man's working life should be not twenty, but nearer forty, years; and if society chooses to decree otherwise because of demands for high productivity, it is society's immediate duty to provide for the discarded workers by old-age pensions (which begin far lower than at sixty-five or seventy years) or by some other adequate and humane system.

Low pay puts a still further obstacle in the way of the constructive impulses, since it causes lessened energy and harassing anxiety; and reduces incentive. And finally, there may be deliberately unsocial ideas at work in the

minds of workers, who may on some occasion have been intimidated by a fellow-worker or converted to a destructive programme for gaining constructive ends, or who may have become despondent, lazy, or irresponsible.

The propaganda for sabotage clearly exemplifies how the instinct of workmanship can be more or less effectually displaced by more immediate, and therefore more intense, impulses. Throwing the wrench into the machine, putting sand in the gears, spoiling work deliberately — these measures have been advocated in extreme cases by certain radical leaders who saw no other way of bringing their case to the attention of employer or consumer. Nevertheless, the virulence of the exhortation needed to bring about sabotage, the reluctance with which it is practiced and the horror with which it is received, all tend to indicate that any deliberate damage of goods or of equipment in order to secure desired ends will be undertaken only as a last extremity and under great provocation. In short, sabotage "goes against the grain" and the antipathy

it arouses reveals in its true light the vigor of the constructive impulse.

The problem of recruiting shipyard labor has emphasized what the workers believe to be one of the greatest obstacles to craftsmanship. The situation in our own country when the shipbuilding programme was undertaken upon our entry into the war was somewhat as follows: There was little shipbuilding and few men trained in the distinctly shipyard crafts, although many workers in closely allied crafts could be rapidly instructed. The most economical procedure would therefore be to call in the boiler-makers, carpenters, machinists, etc., who were already proficient in their callings. Pursuant to the Government's policy during the war of dealing with the workers through the unions, the logical next step was therefore to invite the unions to supply members of their own organizations who were unemployed, to break in on the shipyard jobs. The presumption was in favor of this being the easiest way to be sure that men with training in related trades were being utilized. The trade-union membership in these kindred

crafts is made up of men who have served an apprenticeship of from three to five years or who have qualified through other practical experience. While by no means an infallible test, the holding of a union card indicates at least an average degree of proficiency. Certainly it is a better credential than no test at all of the worker's practical ability.

But because certain of the shipyard employers were opposed to and afraid of the introduction of trade-union workers, the men who did come from the unions were at first discriminated against; and the employers made every effort to break in non-union, unskilled men. The result was that in one yard the management boasted that it had broken in over eighty bartenders, over a hundred jewelers, and many waiters and clerks. In regard to one occupation at this same yard the union representative testified before the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board that ten of his members could handle all the work for which the company was employing twenty-seven men. Even if there is a pardonable exaggeration in this proportion, there still

remains a considerable margin of waste and inefficiency. In short, the trade-union contention has from the start been that in the Atlantic Coast shipyards there has not been efficiency, not been real craftsmanship, because the employers were "more interested in killing the union," as one union official said to me, "than in building the ships." Whatever the facts may be in this whole situation, it is noteworthy that the workers have taken special pains to repudiate absolutely the charges of inefficiency made against them. The war's demands for output have made them more than ever alive to the importance of cherishing the ideal of workmanship.

We see the desire to cherish this ideal also active in the vigorous opposition with which organized labor has met the scientific management movement. One of labor's chief counts against the "Taylor System" and all its ramifications has been that it subdivides work, takes all planning away from workers, makes each operation a meaningless, machine-like job at which no craftsmanship can be exercised and from which consequently no joy

can be derived. The truth of these objections concerns us here less than the fact that they arise out of an attempt to preserve the chances for craftsmanship. They come, of course, largely from the craft unions whose very existence is jeopardized by the minimizing of craft distinctions; and the danger of weakening these unions and thereby reducing the protection offered to the members, stands as a reason for opposition to scientific management which is as strongly instinctive as the opposition on grounds of a lessened scope for craftsmanship. On the one hand, the individual feels his chance for self-expression reduced; on the other, the group feels its life threatened. In consequence, trade union opposition to scientific management has insistently called attention to the increasingly limited chance for manual dexterity and for the satisfaction of the contriving impulse which the machine world offers when present tendencies are carried to their logical conclusion. It is emphasizing that unless the modern industrial world can offer free play for our normal creative impulses, it is weak and unworthy at a vital point.

It is interesting to consider in passing whether two possible modifications of industrial practice would offer outlet and scope for this instinct. There is, first, the possibility of acquainting workers fully with the place in the scheme of things which the product which they help to create occupies.[1] Whether the worker's ability to see his job in relation to the whole creative enterprise of industry can ever give satisfaction to the instinct of workmanship is, however, a question which cannot yet be answered. We shall not know until we experiment.

In the second place, it is possible that the assumption by the workers of greater control over the conduct of industry will give more adequate chance to satisfy this instinct.

This, too, is a difficult question to approach deductively. But if we can judge from similar and parallel examples of the present-day coöperative movement and profit-sharing ventures, if we can judge from the workers' own direction of trade-union affairs, we are fairly

[1] See Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, chap. VI.

safe in saying that more representative control will bring with it a wider distribution of responsibility, interest, sense of participation, and proprietorship, — all of which are closely related to this desire to construct and create. If we conceive of this impulse as including not only manual endeavor, but the intellectual labor necessary to carry through plans large and small, we shall get a fairer and more hopeful grasp of the place that workmanship may occupy as industrial government becomes more representative. For the mental labor needed to accomplish a genuinely social control of industry must be widely shared and ability to plan and execute orders must become common.

It is probable, indeed, that all proposals which involve an extension of representative government in industry will, by the very fact of distributing responsibility more widely, involve a new stirring of interest and effort. The problem of completely scientific application of intelligence to process, to machinery, and to motions cannot be solved until the workers are asked both to contribute their

knowledge to the upbuilding of standard practice and to the control of conditions and terms on which that practice is introduced. Sidney Webb [1] has well phrased this alternative when he says:—

You must not dream of taking a single step in the direction of scientific management until it has been very elaborately explained to, and discussed by, not only the particular men with whom you are going to experiment, but also by the whole workshop. It will, if you handle it with any competence, be a matter of intense interest to them. You must talk to them both publicly and privately, with magic-lantern slides and experimental demonstrations, answering endless questions, and patiently meeting what seem to you frivolous objections. The workshop committee or the shop stewards will naturally be the first people to be consulted. Remember, it is the men's working lives (not your own life) that you are proposing to alter, and their craft (not yours) that you may seem to be going to destroy. You will be making a ruinous blunder, fatal to the maximum efficiency of the works, if you content yourself with bribing, by high rates, bonuses, or rewards, just the few individual men whom you propose to put on the new system, whilst leaving the opinion of the rest of the staff sullenly adverse. The others will not

[1] *The Works Manager Today*, pp. 137–138.

be appeased merely by the fact that a few selected men are making "good money!"

And you must, of course, make it clear in some way, to your own men as well as to the trade-union concerned, that what you are proposing to introduce will not merely pay the first lot of selected workmen, and not merely the present generation, but also will have a good influence on the prospects of the whole staff, and will not have any adverse effect on the standard rate, now or hereafter. Unless you can demonstrate this — unless you in some way automatically protect the piecework rates from being "cut" *at some future time* — possibly by some future manager — you will be met (and in the national interest you ought to be met) with unrelenting opposition; and, if you impose the change by force or by individual bribery, you will inevitably encounter the reprisals of "ca'canny."

This exhortation to managers is not a bit too strong if it is the preservation of a sense of workmanship that we desire. The policy of progressively working shop output up to a higher point and at each stage having the piece rate cut to keep the workers' total earnings at little if any above his original wage has been widely experienced by workers. It has been the rule, rather than the exception, to an extent that the practice of rate-cutting alone

can stand as one of the strongest reasons why "efficiency" has little appeal for the working class. This was clearly recognized by the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board when in its awards during the spring of 1918 it required employers to post notices in the shipyards that no piece rates would be cut for the period of the war.

It is obvious that the instinct of workmanship is a beneficent and fruitful impulse. It is equally obvious that among the great mass of wage-working people it to-day gets little chance for expression. This is the instinct which, next to the possessive and submissive, explains the great complex structure of our capitalist states. But, as with the possessive instinct, its satisfaction in the men who have molded the great economic forces of the last century, has meant its repression in the men who were their agents and instruments. Our problem is to secure the chance for satisfaction in ownership and in constructive effort for the dispossessed and circumscribed. We must look to the activity of this instinct to create and universalize conditions under which workman-

ship can more adequately find its expression. Indeed, this instinct is already prompting humanity to the creation of new methods, the contriving of new schemes, in which the instinct of workmanship has its chance and the instinct of possessiveness has its opportunity for normal satisfaction. We have here too valuable and creative a tendency to allow it to be longer neglected, thwarted, or dissipated. The assertion of its importance must, however, carry with it more than a pious wish about creativeness. Thoughtful consideration of its place and importance must inevitably lead to suggestions for reorganization which will allow wider latitude to the workmanly tendencies. And if it should prove that industry, because of the high development of the machine, cannot offer this latitude, we must utilize our leisure in less sophisticated and more normal pursuits.

The character and policy of the labor movement of the future are bound up with its acceptance of workmanship and responsibility for production. I have rehearsed at length the reasons why it is not strange if present-

day workers are not workmanly. These reasons are overwhelmingly explanatory. But some of them are destined to have less rather than more force as years go on. Organized labor's influence is in the ascendant. It will undoubtedly, as its share of responsibility for production becomes more definitely established, adopt some more affirmative policy toward genuine efficiency and workmanship. Not only must provision for the exercise of this instinct be made in industry, but it will be largely up to the unions to help in making it. In this demand upon their foresight and energy is coming a supreme test of labor's ability to take over industrial control. It becomes daily clearer that the community as a whole waits only for tangible evidences of the workers' competency to entrust them more and more fully with the direction of production.

Already there are signs that this new interest is being aroused. In England in its resolutions on Reconstruction the Labor Party says:[1]

[1] See Arthur Gleason on "British Labor and the Issues of Reconstruction." *The Survey*, August 3, 1918.

That the conference cannot help noticing how very far from efficient the capitalist system has been proved to be, with its stimulus of private profit, and its evil shadow of wages driven down by competition often below subsistence level; that the conference recognizes that it is vital for any genuine social reconstruction to increase the nation's aggregate annual production, not of profit or dividend, but of useful commodities and services; that this increased productivity is obviously not to be sought in reducing the means of subsistence of the workers, whether by hand or by brain, nor yet in lengthening their hours of work, for neither "sweating" nor "driving" can be made the basis of lasting prosperity, but in the socialization of industry in order to secure

(*a*) the elimination of every kind of inefficiency and waste.

(*b*) the application both of more honest determination to produce the very best, and of more science and intelligence to every branch of the nation's work; together with

(*c*) an improvement in social, political, and industrial organization; and

(*d*) the indispensable marshaling of the nation's resources so that each need is met in the order of, and in proportion to, its real national importance.

And in our country the following utterance of the president of the International Printing-Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, is indicative

of a changing emphasis. In an address to the local union at Scranton, Pa., Mr. Berry, the president, said:—

A great educational campaign has been taken up by the International Union. It has realized of its own initiative that there are incompetents and semi-competents engaged in the printing art, and it has said to the industry, both employer and employee: "We propose to assist in the elimination of incompetency in our business to the end that a high standard of craftsmanship shall be given in the interest of the industry as a whole. When I say that this organization has spent nearly $200,000 in the establishment and maintenance of a trade school with $128,000 worth of printing machinery of modern type, with all the labor-saving devices included, you can best understand the intensity of our interest in craft improvement. . . . I am sorry to say that the employers of this country have looked upon this educational effort . . . as an institution of the union. This is an unfortunate mistake. The employers of this country are as much obligated to assist in the furtherance of the possibilities of this system of education as are the employees. . . .

Another hopeful and enlightening earnest of labor's attitude was seen recently on the Pacific Coast, where one large shipbuilder stood out against all his compeers in contracting

with the unions and building ships under union conditions. The unions, seeing an opportunity to make public capital out of the splendid achievements of its members, came out presently with a statement pointing out that the yard which employed union labor was building its ships in a very much shorter time than were the non-union yards. They showed, moreover, according to press reports, that the local Chamber of Commerce had been so prejudiced against them that at a banquet held to boom shipbuilding it had refused to make any acknowledgment of the fact that it was organized labor's superior efficiency and productivity which enabled the yard in question to launch the first ship of the new merchant fleet.

With the instinct of workmanship understood and given guidance and direction, there need be few fears for the future of the workers or for the future of workmanship. We have only to understand that there is no true joy in work and no true workmanship apart from an appreciable degree of self-direction and self-control.

But if, as is not unlikely, we find upon candid examination, that even under self-direction, there is still much machine work which offers no outlet for creative energy, we can vary the work. And we can shorten the work day to a point where a compensatory leisure can offer the time needed to foster healthy activity which is interesting and spontaneous.

CHAPTER V

THE INSTINCT OF POSSESSION, OWNERSHIP PROPERTY, OR ACQUISITIVENESS

THE essential tendency connoted by these various terms is the desire to identify property whether in things, people, or ideas, with one's self; or the desire involving less immediate personal possession which derives satisfaction from ultimate control. This distinction between possession and control is one which must be drawn in the face of modern industrial conditions.

There is comparatively little physical or real property which most of us care to possess directly and permanently. But our desire to have enough control over property to permit us the use of it is a desire which grows from what it feeds upon.

Specifically, the worker in a spinning-room is not anxious to own bobbins or spinning-frames or yarn. But she may have a desire to participate in the control of a factory to the

point where she can secure higher wages. The shopgirl may not want to own a beach lot, but she properly resents it if she is not allowed to walk along the shore of somebody's "private property." The instinct for ownership can, in short, satisfy itself in varying and in very indirect ways.

The activity of this sense of proprietorship is so often manifested in little incidents about a factory that its identity should be established. The writer in a visit through a garment shop came across a young girl who was sitting at a sewing machine crying and sobbing violently. Inquiry revealed the cause of her sorrow to be that "her own" machine had broken down and she was being required in the hour's interval to use another machine in perfect repair and of identical make and capacity. A book bindery in which the work was seasonal undertook to distribute jobs by transferring the girls among the departments. The effort was met at the outset by a strong feeling that the particular process which the girl already knew was "her job," and she neither wanted anybody else's nor wanted any one

to learn hers. When a spinner in a yarn mill was asked to change from some "frames" which she had worked for several years she abruptly left with no explanation. In another factory I had occasion to settle a dispute between the management and the truck-drivers. The management had decided to employ a stable-man to tend the horses and care for the harness. The intention was to cut off at least an hour from the working day of each driver. But objection soon developed because the men wanted to tend "their own" horses, and would trust them to no indifferent "lumper" in the barn. In a large foundry when the management found itself with a strike on its hands, it discovered that the men had all the forges numbered among themselves and each man was definitely assigned by the group as a whole to one which he had grown accustomed to by years of use. The attempt of a new foreman to transfer the man at "number one forge" to a different work place brought the whole department about his ears and created a perfect storm of resentment. Instances of this sort could be multiplied with-

out number to show the strength of the feeling of "mine and thine," and the part it plays in the detailed running of industry.

The sense of property right in jobs, an instinctive feeling of possessiveness over one's means of sustenance, gains constant strength among workers, by virtue of existing side by side with the employers' conviction that the jobs they have to offer are theirs, that the workers "can take them or leave them, and if you don't like them you know what you can do." The workers' feeling does, indeed, have such deep-rooted causes that it seems destined to gain more serious recognition in our social institutions and in the eyes of the law. Failure to recognize this growing sense of proprietary right in employment will in consequence give rise to a stronger and stronger consciousness of injustice or to unconscious suppressed desires. Evidences that desire in this direction has been thwarted are not be be ignored to-day. The itinerant workers who supply the labor for the seasonal demands of the farmers on our Western coast are preponderantly single men without attachments of home

or family.[1] They form a peculiarly unleavened group, high-handed and irresponsible, whose work under present conditions is frequently unreliable and inefficient.

Again, part of the obloquy which falls upon the "scab" is due to his failure to understand that the striking workers believe that jobs are *theirs* and that they are only temporarily absenting themselves pending settlement upon terms of employment to which they can subscribe. The ruling of many employers that an employee who strikes is automatically discharged is regarded by the workers as an absurd denial of a cardinal principle.

Not a little of the trade-union psychology concerning "closed" or union shop is explicable from this point of view. Workers who have by banding together succeeded in bettering working conditions feel that they have a right to the vacant positions which is prior to that of the individualistic artisan who,

[1] According to Professor C. H. Parker there are over sixty thousand people in the labor camps of California. See "The California Casual and his Revolt," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1915.

while he gladly accepts the benefits of union conditions, will undertake none of the risks or costs of collective action. The union position is well expressed in the dictum: "Let the man that helps make the job decent have the job." And a metaphysical "freedom of contract" or "right to stay out or join the union as the workman sees fit" seems to have a less realistic psychological basis than the union attitude which says that he who would claim an equity in a job must help to support the group which keeps working conditions tolerable. But in any case an equity in the job is predicated and the legal facts are yet to be reconciled with the psychological.

Not alone the legal facts, but the current phraseology as well, has still to be reconciled to a more social view of industrial opportunity. The employer still "gives" a job; asks the coöperation of "his" employees; and resents it when a neighboring manufacturer "steals his help." So pervasive, indeed, is this sense of ownership in a business which a man has done so much to build up that it stands to-day as an obstacle to necessary so-

cializing tendencies. I addressed a forum in a New England city, and in asking a question upon some point in my address an aged gentleman arose fairly choleric with rage and shouted, "Do you mean to say, young man, that I have n't got a right to do as I please with the business I have built up in the last forty years?" It was gratifying to note that the audience, by its immediate applause at my answer, agreed with me that while his question was well-meant, his assumption that he, and he alone, was responsible for his business success would not bear scrutiny, and that only in a very restricted sense was it truly his business to dispose of as he saw fit without regard to all those whose employment had been essential to his prosperity.

I am under no illusion that this sense of owning the jobs which an employer has "to sell" is not present with anybody who becomes a labor manager. Undoubtedly any group put in the same position of control over workers tends to react in the same way. At the 1917 annual convention of the American Federation of Labor there was some debate over the

granting of a charter to a union of office workers and typists which well illustrates the point. Wholly apart from the merits of the question upon which I do not attempt to pass judgment, it is interesting to see the familiar attitude taken by some of the union leaders who, as their employers, opposed the organization and the recognition of the stenographers. Their words might have been taken *verbatim* from the lips of the average employer whom they are daily trying to outwit. Like the employer, these trade unionists conceived of the office force of the unions as "theirs," and thought themselves fully able to judge what the best interests of the stenographers were. I am indebted to Mr. John Fitch [1] for the following account of the controversy: —

> The delegates, especially those who were officers of international unions, did not feel that they were dealing with a union of coördinate rank — they were employers who were confronted with a proposition from the union of their own employees. So they acted and talked just as employers do. William Dobson, secretary of the Bricklayers' International Union, re-

[1] See *The Survey*, December 1, 1917.

marked, "The employees of the international organizations have no need of a union." He stated that they have short hours, good wages, and that, so far as he was concerned, "I go around every morning and speak to the employees, say good morning, and if any of them are not feeling well, I send them home."

Dobson was very indignant over the attitude of the stenographers' union. He said that because their employers are union men, they think they can hold them up. "I for one," he told the convention, "refuse to be blackmailed." The convention saw the matter in the same light as did the international officials, and refused a charter to this impertinent organization.

Mr. Laidler cites an interesting case which well illustrates how, in order to satisfy the normal claims of one instinct, people will employ the whole social organization of life and the control of the remaining instincts. He says:—

In northern France, the farmers, renters of land, claimed not only the right of perpetual enjoyment of the plot of land which they occupied, but also power to dispose of this right to their representative by sale or will. They also denied the right of the landlord to let or sell their land over their heads, to evict them from their holdings, to raise the rent or to refuse to lease

the land to their nominees. For this right, which was in conflict with the French law, the farmers paid a certain premium, and if the landlord had the temerity to refuse to recognize these unwritten laws, the aggrieved renter would hasten to the village *cabaret*, and indignantly inform his neighbors, "*Je n'ai jamais démonté personne; j'espère que personne ne me démontera.*" (I have never yet dispossessed any one; I hope that no one will dispossess me.) The farm was then boycotted by the countryside. It was almost impossible to rent it. A new tenant was denounced as a land-grabber. He could not hire labor. His sons obtained no employment; his daughters, no husbands. He was ostracized by his neighbors, who refused him assistance. His fields were often sown with tares by men with masks; his implements were broken; his cattle mutilated; his houses burned; and sometimes he himself was fiercely attacked. In one instance, when a farmer was hanged for participating in these onslaughts, his fellow-farmers decreed that the wealthiest bachelor in town should marry the dead man's widow, and secure a dower from the town, "*et la chose fute exécutée.*" This system lasted from 1697 until far into the nineteenth century, and resulted in many bitter feuds.[1]

This bit of history is valuable as showing how, by an appeal to the sense of family pride,

[1] See Harry W. Laidler, *Boycotts and the Labor Struggle*, p. 28.

personal prestige, group loyalty, the fighting spirit against the landlord, and the farmer's interests in good agricultural workmanship, the individual renter is made to stand pat on his possessions.

The desire for a home grows, in part at least, out of the strength of this instinct of possession. We get a better understanding of the restlessness of workers when we remember the extent to which desire for a home and for the few permanent possessions which it involves is to-day denied. The ordinary manual worker lives in a hired tenement of from two to five rooms which he pays for by the week and from which he may be evicted at short notice. This means that the picture of his own old age which the manual worker foresees is one in which he is either dependent upon the gratuity of his children or the charity of the State. If in addition the worker happens also to live in a "company house," or in a "company town," his sense of empty-handed impotence is intensified many fold. "Home" has in this event little permanent or deeply emotional meaning. The landlord employer owns the employee's

job, his house, perhaps his church, the streets, and the school where his children are being educated. What of stability, security, tranquil "at-homeness" can the tenant wage-earner feel as he smokes his pipe on the hired front doorstep which overlooks the mill?

This situation in its varving stages of acuteness lends meaning to all the impassioned activity of workers who are seeking a sufficient wage to admit of insurance and of saving for old age. Indeed, when we realize that the parental instinct, the instinct of possession, of self-assertion, of gregariousness, and of pugnacity are all focused in this struggle for the higher economic status which is implied in having a home, we begin to see valid biological reasons why passion and violence attend the contest for more wages, shorter hours, and better conditions. And we see further why, when these instincts have been strongly repressed, they finally work themselves out in a way completely contrary to their normal expression and with redoubled animus. At such times workers become either carelessly or aggressively indifferent to property which is

not their own. A deliberate delight in destruction may creep in; and a seemingly unnatural satisfaction in it be evidenced. This was precisely what took place in East Youngstown, Ohio, under exactly the conditions we have enumerated: —

> . . . A mob of strikers . . . suddenly turned themselves loose to burn and pillage and destroy, and had not stopped until many had been wounded — three men fatally — and four complete city blocks, mostly of brick exterior, and parts of other blocks had been given to the flames and utterly destroyed.[1]

Indeed, this tendency toward careless disregard of the property of others — evidencing also apparently a degree of pugnacity — may show itself in many ways which seriously handicap the economical running of industry. Take, for example, the problem of spoiled material. Unless there is some specific effort to counteract it by campaigns of record-keeping or other means, employers are almost sure to be confronted with an unnecessarily high percentage of waste and scrap. We see em-

[1] John A. Fitch, "Arson and Citizenship," in *The Survey*, January 22, 1917.

ployees negligent of machinery and likely to handle destructively toilet facilities, toweling, and the like. On the occasion of a walk-out in a large tire factory the workers took particular care to leave at an hour when the vulcanizers were full of tires which would spoil completely if not promptly removed.

In factories, on the other hand, where there is a sense of proprietorship gained through profit-sharing or some other device, we find workers' instinct of possession extending throughout the whole factory to the point that they watch carefully the conduct of each new employee to be sure that he is working at maximum economy and efficiency. And they are quick to make plain to him their disapproval if he is wasteful or lazy.

The instance of the Maison Leclair, the famous coöperative decorating concern of Paris, is of special significance in this connection.[1] A substantial part of the success of this establishment comes from the saving in mate-

[1] See an interesting account of this enterprise in *Copartnership and Profit-Sharing*, by A. Williams, Home University Library Series, pp. 29–42.

rial by coöperating workers and from the fact that they work harder than do hired artisans of the sort pictured in Robert Tressal's novel.[1] And the dominant fact about the Maison Leclair is that the workers are its owners.

It is also true, as the following quotation points out, that the possession of property up to a certain point is encouraged by astute employers in order simply to offset demands for fundamental justice. Say the authors of "Profit Sharing, Its Principles and Practice":[2]

> There can be no doubt that stock plans are frequently introduced because of the desire to prevent or to weaken the organization of labor, the hope that expensive strikes and industrial disputes will be done away with, and the wish to lessen the antagonism of workmen towards the corporation. Such plans rest largely upon the assumption that an employee who is a stock-owner in the concern will be less likely to go out on strike, will be less easily influenced by "agitators," and will be more likely to take the viewpoint of the owners or managers. The sense of proprietorship in the business which may arise from stock-ownership will, it is hoped, bear fruit in an increased loyalty to the interests of the concern.

[1] See *ante*, p. 27.

[2] A collaboration published by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1918.

Out of the promptings of this instinct which impels us to acquire and to accumulate grows in substantial measure the average workingman's sense of being thwarted and cheated in the distribution of this world's goods. It is around property and the acquisition of property, with all the satisfactions which that may involve, that the antagonisms of modern industry so largely arise. The essential nature of our economic system is to be comprehended only as we visualize this conflict of interests which the legitimate desire for goods accentuates. The effort to satisfy the yearning for ownership arrays us against each other individually and in groups whose kindred economic interests have become apparent. And the conflict which comes out of this strong desire and this alignment of groups is to be lessened only by giving the desire some measure of satisfaction or by turning the attention and the impulse in another direction.

This last suggestion carries with it an interesting implication which some shrewd manufacturers have seen and acted upon. They have found that, by paying wages and giv-

ing working conditions that are substantially more attractive than those of their competitors, they are able to keep just ahead of the demands of their workers; and by so doing they create an appearance of generosity and contentment which distracts the attention of employees from their normal desire to get as much pay as they can and as the success of the business warrants. Indeed, certain employers have thus held in abeyance for years the conflict to which the desires of employees naturally impel. Contrast with this policy the experience of a highly prosperous New England textile factory where wages were low. There, upon the newspaper announcement of company earnings much higher than the usual dividend, the weavers sent the management an ultimatum to the effect that unless a wage increase demand was granted by noon they would walk out. And they walked out.

The strength of the instinct to possess and accumulate has undoubtedly been popularly overestimated. It is true that it has no inherent limits at which satisfaction is secured. But it is also true that the extent to which

it is modified by the operation of other instincts has been underestimated. To conceive of the majority of people as potential hoarders and fanatical accumulators is to attribute the instincts of the squirrel or bee to organisms which are vastly more complex in function and motive. The accentuation of this instinct has come about through a long discipline of poverty, material deprivation, and "deficit," as Professor Patten has expressed it. The difficulty of obtaining adequate sustenance in the temperate zones has placed a premium upon thrift, forethought, and accumulation. We have not, until recently, enjoyed an "economy of surplus"; and even now when war interrupts our industrial life we are faced with the problem of "hoarders," who in self-protection seek to anticipate a food or coal or clothing shortage. Normally, however, if our system of distribution were a competent one, there are enough of the material necessities to go around; and whenever we decide to guarantee the necessaries of life to all deserving citizens we shall unquestionably witness some relaxation of this feverish anx-

iety to amass wealth and goods. It can be confidently predicted that this instinct will not resume a more normal functioning until people can more nearly take for granted the self-preservation which it is calculated to assure.

But this is not the whole story. In the money economy under which we live the extent of possession is the measure of the individual's place and prestige. A situation has been created in which people desire to possess, not to satisfy so much the possessive as the self-assertive impulse. As long as this remains true, as long as this inordinate desire conspicuously to display one's material advantage gives in the minds of others a psychological advantage, this abnormal zest for pecuniary accumulation will endure.

CHAPTER VI

THE INSTINCT OF SELF-ASSERTION, SELF-DISPLAY, MASTERY, DOMINATION EMULATION, OR "GIVE-A-LEAD"

THE kernel of fact about human nature represented by these names is the familiar impulse to rise above the dead level of humanity and be an individual. And they may connote an additional urge to impose one's self and one's will upon one's fellow-men. The mere statement of this characteristic leads to a realization that we have here a valuable impulse which is allowed little satisfaction in industry to-day.

To be sure, the degree of its intensity varies enormously among individuals. Indeed, there are those who will say that this variation — which occurs to a greater or less extent in the intensity of all the instincts — precludes the possibility of a "problem" as to whether impulses do or do not gain expression. This raises a fundamental question which may as well be met at this time. The contention is,

of course, that if the individual has strong desires he will act upon them; if he does not act the desires are not present — or at least are not sufficiently urgent to make their repression a matter of any concern. But clearly the extent of one's efforts to give expression to his impulses is no guide to their strength or intensity. Men isolated in construction or lumber camps do not have adequate opportunity to satisfy the sex instinct. The desire for play and relaxation may amount to a passion in a group of overworked mill hands or store clerks, but if they are so thoroughly exhausted at the day's end that they can only throw themselves on their beds, the recreative impulse gets no outlet. It becomes obvious, therefore, that the fact of non-satisfaction of a native impulse is of itself no indication of the strength of that impulse. There will be times when the surface evidences of repression are few, — which is one of the most important reasons why a knowledge of previous behavior under similar circumstances, and a knowledge of the causes of that behavior, is of value in helping us to anticipate and prevent difficul-

ties. Under present industrial conditions, moreover, the endowments of thousands have never had a fair chance to be known or expressed. The constant and gratified surprise with which Hannibal, in Mr. McFee's "Casuals of the Sea," discovers the reserve powers in himself as circumstances call them out; the pitiful grief with which Lord Jim in Joseph Conrad's novel of that name discovers his limitations under the crucial strain — these illustrate how wary we must be of saying that the world has allowed the individual a representative chance to act in proportion to the strength of his powers. Our instinctive responses are modified by environment, by training, by the relative strength of inherited tendencies.

Although manual workers in consequence of a long tradition of servility may appear at times to be without a normal sense of assertiveness, the appearance cannot be trusted. The writer visited a meeting of a local trade-union in the Middle West in the evening after an investigation of the shop in which nearly all the men worked. And the most note-

worthy impression derived from the gathering was of the initiative and ability of men who in a conference held in the forenoon with the shop foreman had hardly dared to open their mouths. The testimony is general that away from the accustomed restrictions of the bench, workmen display an ability and leadership which would be wholly unexpected from their conduct in the shop. It must be remembered that it is precisely these docile and deferential employees who have been the agents of the progress of organized labor, of fraternal organizations, of the consumers' coöperative movement, and of lesser working-class movements of a religious, political, and protective character.

Despite their reputation for docility and meekness, it is inevitable that our southern and eastern European immigrant workers should occasionally belie their reputation and participate in a brave frenzy of self-assertion. The whole atmosphere of our country, with its aggressiveness and individualism coupled with the fact of their exploitation, tends to rouse these workers to demonstrate in blind,

eager, and intense ways that they are not pack-animals but human beings. The impassioned uprising at Trinidad, at Mesaba Range, at Bayonne, at Youngstown, at Lawrence, and at Paterson are only the normal fulfillment of this expectation.[1] And instead of being provoked or puzzled at the white heat which their revolt sometimes kindles, we should be gratified to find that the essential humanity of these hard-pressed workers is still unimpaired.

Further discussion of this instinct will gain in clearness if we differentiate in self-assertiveness between love of prominence and a love of power. The desire for prominence has already been recognized in a practical way by those managers of industry who make use of friendly rivalry and competition within and between departments. Only recently a manufacturer admitted to me, almost with chagrin, that the response in better work and quantity was almost unbelievable when he pre-

[1] In *The Dwelling-Place of Light*, Winston Churchill's recent novel, there is a spirited narration of one such uprising, the details of which are obviously suggested by the Lawrence strike.

sented from month to month a silken gold-lettered banner to the department with the best production record for the preceding month. He stated that workmen would see the banner leave their department with tears in their eyes! Mr. Charles Schwab tells of going into one of his foundries and asking the number of heats which the shift had done that day. He chalked the number, which was seven, on the foundry wall and left without further comment. The next shift, having asked the meaning of the figure on the wall, erased it at the end of their work and wrote the figure eight. In a few days the amount of production of the foundry had been substantially and permanently increased.

The *Manchester Guardian*[1] tells a similar tale from a munitions plant in which

> the daily output of each of the three shifts is chalked on a blackboard. The numbers are carefully scanned by each group of workers and the maximum is the standard each sets out to achieve. In a neighboring establishment a shield is awarded to the shift which tops the list. It is made of paper, and the honor of winning it is

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, November 12, 1915.

its only value, but the sporting instincts of Yorkshire men and Yorkshire women prompt them to double their energies to gain it. The knowledge that they have earned a title to a scrap of paper is as proud a possession to these humble toilers for the empire as were the laurels given to the Greek Marathon victor.

Kirkaldy [2] indicates in the following quotation how this tendency may be abused — an incident which illustrates also how complete satisfaction of an instinct may be harmful: —

To the woman worker, undoubtedly, this bonus is a very strong temptation to injurious over-exertion; and one example was given in the course of the inquiry where a woman had won a "shift" bonus by turning out 132 shells (nose-profiling) in one shift where the normal output was 100 shells, and had had, as a result, to remain in bed on the following day. When it was pointed out to her later that she had acted foolishly, her reply was that she knew, but she "was n't going to be beat."

The men workers who have been at the game longer have found it necessary to make specific provision to protect themselves from

[2] Kirkaldy, A. W., *Labour, Finance, and the War*, p. 117.

workers with this indomitable spirit of not "going to be beat." Individual ambition and emulative spirit would naturally prompt a body of men working regularly together to friendly competition in the amount of output. Yet in the face of this natural tendency the unions have nearly always insisted upon the necessity for uniform standard rates of pay for week work and for fairly well-established maximum and minimum earnings where piece-work was in vogue. And the reason for this stand is well suggested in the above illustration. The union wants to preserve a safe, long-time working pace; and it wants, moreover, to have some assurance that where increased production results labor shall have some voice in dividing the surplus income. It would be most unsound to conclude that labor organizations wish to place self-assertiveness under a ban; their intention is merely to protect the less aggressive and less ambitious men from being pushed to the wall in any fruitless struggle for a survival of the fit in each shop. In this case, naïve obedience to instinct would be disastrous. Each individual worker produces

all he can only at the probable danger of soon wearing himself out and of seeing his rate of pay fall lower and lower.

It is in part due to a tacit recognition of the vitality of this instinct that the "task and bonus" method of payment has been evolved by the scientific management group. If in the day's work there is offered the chance to excel by means that bring public and pecuniary acknowledgment, people are normally to be counted upon to accept the challenge. The publication of "efficiency ratings," the honoring of the "fast team" by putting its picture in the company paper, the bestowing of yearly prizes — these are all methods calculated to give satisfaction to the employees' sense of "give-a-lead" — a satisfaction in which the employer shares because of the increased production which accrues and the proportionately larger fraction of the gain which falls to him.

The desire for prominence and display may also, as we have pointed out in discussing the parental instinct, lead to a standard of living and to a scale of expenditure quite unwarranted by one's income. The family which

mortgages its house to buy an automobile, the employee who "has n't missed a day in fifteen years," the laborer who sends all his sons to high school — all are endeavoring in their own way to make their impress on the world.

The yearning for place and power in the working-class is doubly intensified by the difficulty of shaking one's self free from the deadening drag of factory labor. The autocratic manner and even the high-handed methods of occasional trade-union leaders are to be understood, not as arrogant expression of authority felt to be absolute, but rather as growing out of the instinctive necessity to assert power for the satisfaction to be derived from the assertion. There have unquestionably been instances where the will to power has run away with labor leaders precisely as it has with influential capitalists. But it is not to be wondered that the labor leader of inconspicuous origin should upon accession to power feel impelled to satisfy his sense of mastery even at the sacrifice of his other interests.

Interesting examples of this almost indiscriminate assertion of power are to be found

occasionally in trade-union circles. In one case, a caulker was discharged because he could not get along with the superintendent of the shipyard. The union apparently agreed that he was better occupied elsewhere and his fare was paid to another yard where employment was secured. In three days the caulker was back demanding reinstatement, and he had his whole union "by the ears" trying to get him back. I recall a similar instance in a local union of painters where five out of a membership of one hundred and twenty-six were disaffected about the terms of employment and they were able by wearisome reiteration to impress the rest with the necessity of making new demands. I am not citing these as examples necessarily of unstrategic assertiveness; but there does often come a time when from the outsider's point of view the wiser course is in the direction of a less rigid stand for one's "rights."

Not infrequently, on the other hand, the will to power may bring the leader among working-men into such sharp conflict with those who hold the economic or political power

that the price paid for an attempt to satisfy the impulse will seem out of proportion to the satisfaction. The committee of three trade-unionists who recently signed a protesting communication to a large metropolitan street railway were summarily discharged. Those known to be union officials are again and again discriminated against in the factory in all sorts of ways. In fact, one of the crucial reasons why the business agent of the union is necessary and powerful is that he can speak for men in a shop who are afraid to speak for themselves because of the likelihood of discharge or adverse discrimination. This instinct of assertiveness is not one, therefore, which gets any large encouragement in working-class environment. Indeed, it gets far less than its merits.

Among the reasons for this self-repression of individuality is the fear of being cut off from a job and the sources of livelihood. Conditions in one Eastern city were to my knowledge such that if a group of men gathered in a boarding-house in the evening to make plans for an effective protest at their low wages,

every one of the men was picked out in the shop with unerring accuracy the next day and discharged. And the names of the ringleaders were known and communicated to the secretary of the local and county manufacturers' association who kept a list, politely known as the "employment list," of men who were known to be faithful and obedient workers. To the extent that employers are known to employ detectives and to buy their way into union councils, it is not surprising that workers are cautious, mutually suspicious, and uncoöperative. Unfortunately employment of detectives as a means of anticipating trouble in the shop does not seem to be on the decrease; and so long as this pernicious and cowardly practice is countenanced we can expect no liberal display of the best sort of working class initiative and no diminution of that attitude of suspicion and hostility to the management which prevails in factories where detectives are known to be at work.

Another example of this kind of practice recently came to light in a large department store where the workers were known to be

anxious to organize unions. The employer, in order "to nip the movement in the bud," got hold of a disgruntled employee and arranged that he should seemingly lead in the movement to organize the clerical employees. A meeting at which the "black-leg" presided brought together nearly thirty men, all but one of whom signed a paper signifying their desire to join the union. The next day every one of the signers was summarily discharged, despite the fact that several of them had been faithful and satisfactory employees for over twenty years.

In the same city, at the time of this concerted interest in department store organization, the members of a new organization in another store were discovered through the theft by an agent of the company, of the union secretary's minute book which contained the names and addresses of the members; and they too were discharged. At the Philadelphia hearings of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board in December, 1917, one of the workers said: "In some yards men are liable to lose their jobs if they object to conditions

established there. . . . What good would it be for a man to make a complaint under those conditions?"

Similar testimony was brought before this same board in Portland, Oregon. The employer in a big metal-working shop refused absolutely to negotiate a collective agreement with the union, but he was willing and did enter into a written understanding with his own employees. Six months later, during some further trouble, the fact developed that only one member of the original workers' committee which made the demands was still employed. The others on one pretext or another had been quietly dropped from the pay-roll. Under those conditions, as the Philadelphia, journeyman pertinently inquired, what good would it do for a man to complain?

The price of a working-man's self-assertiveness can indeed be terrifically high. I have known several able and powerful figures in the more radical wing of the labor movement who after years of effective leadership have for one reason and another been superseded by younger men. Their plight is pitiable.

They are known in the employing world as pro-labor; and they are not made use of by the labor world itself. Their means of support are greatly restricted and their pride naturally forbids the seeking of charity or subsidy. We are wont to lament the submissiveness of the working-class; it is indeed a cause of anxiety. But let no one speak lightly of the valiant efforts which have been made to lead the workers into a more secure and respected position in the community. We must in every conceivable way make it possible for the manual worker to assert himself without the appalling sacrifice which he must now endure. The pathetic figure of Joe Kramer in Ernest Poole's "The Harbor" has its counterpart in real life in the head of one of the strongest international unions. When recently threatened with a prison sentence this man said scornfully: "What have I to fear or to lose? I have given everything I had to the labor movement. I have no wife, no home, no friends." And this was true.

Not the least of the effective restraints upon the activity of this impulse is the fact that it

is limited by the amount of surplus energy possessed by the individual or group. That indefinable attitude of aliveness and surging vitality which results when energy is not completely absorbed in the daily grind seems to be indispensable to a display of individual initiative and assertiveness. If this is true, it has a valuable suggestion as to the way in which this impulse may be stimulated. Indeed, the relation of self-assertiveness to physical and nervous vigor has been interestingly illustrated in the experience of certain manufacturers with welfare work. There are plants where everything conceivable has been done for the workers' welfare. Towns have been laid out, houses built and sold on moderate terms, gardens ploughed, clubs and bands organized — everything calculated to make provision for the employees' needs has been provided not only in the community, but in the shop. Yet in these same factories have occurred some of the bitterest strikes that American industry has seen. Are those strikes to be attributed to ingratitude and selfishness? Is no more profound explanation of their occurrence at hand?

In the light of our approach to the question there would certainly seem to be a more reasonable explanation. The workers are simultaneously affected by two influences. They are treated like grown-up children, which they resent. And they are provided for materially in such an adequate way that a sufficient supply of energy and initiative is gradually stored up and confined. When some crowning indignity finally comes they have developed the self-respect to resent it acutely, and they are in possession of enough spirit to make their resentment take tangible shape. A sense of a thwarted impulse of self-expression has accumulated, a yearning for adequate release gets the upper hand; and individuals who were formerly tractable and submissive are found in a time of strike to have developed unbelievable resources of energy, initiative, and independence. The trouble has not been with the unruly workers, but with the paternal methods of treatment to which they have been subjected. This lesson has, unfortunately, still to be learned by many employers whose outlay on welfare work will never bring in the

dividends that are anticipated so long as human nature remains as elastic and dynamic as it is.

While it is true that the sources of efficiency and contentment and stability depend to a considerable extent upon the material security of the workers, it is also true that men who are assured the elementary wants are soon looking for new worlds to conquer, new heights of activity and achievement to attain. And the only manufacturer who is playing into the hands of the future is the one who is making provision not only for bodily wants, but for the larger, more generous spiritual aspirations of the workers. The wise employer is now providing scope for that element of self-assertiveness which is furnishing motive power to the movement for the democratic control of industry and of the whole community. The essence of democracy lies in the securing by each and every individual of an adequate chance for self-expression. Democracy is not sought as an end; it is the attendant condition of that free play of human impulses which is essential to life — which is life. Indeed,

whatever will strengthen the physical basis of self-assertion and arouse the higher nervous centers into self-expressive activity is to be adjudged of value in the effort to secure for society the maximum contribution of every individual, and to secure from society the maximum benefit for all its members.

How direct and definite in its influence the failure to provide a proper channel for expression can be is clearly indicated in the following analysis: [1]

> While not expressed in so many words, the dominant feeling of protest was that the industry was conducted upon an autocratic basis. The workers did not have representation in determining those conditions of their employment which vitally affected their lives as well as the company's output. Many complaints were, in fact, found by the commission to be unfounded, but there was no safeguard against injustice except the say-so of one side to the controversy. In none of the mines was there direct dealing between companies and unions. In some mines grievance committees had been recently established, but they were distrusted by the

[1] *Report of President's Mediation Commission to the President of the United States*, pp. 6–7.

workers as subject to company control, and, in any event, were not effective, because the final determination of every issue was left with the company. In place of orderly processes of adjustment, workers were given the alternative of submission or strike.

The men sought the power to secure industrial justice in matters of vital concern to them. The power they sought would in no way impinge on the correlative power which must reside in management. Only by a proper balance of adequate power on each side can just equilibrium in industry be attained. In the minds of the workers only the right to organize secured them an equality of bargaining power and protection against abuses. There was no demand for a closed shop. There was a demand for security against discrimination directed at union membership. The companies denied discrimination, but refused to put the denial to the reasonable test of disinterested adjustment.

The men demanded the removal of certain existing grievances as to wages, hours, and working conditions, but the specific grievances were, on the whole, of relatively minor importance. The crux of the conflict was the insistence of the men that the right and the power to obtain just treatment were in themselves basic conditions of employment, and that they should not be compelled to depend for such just treatment on the benevolence or uncontrolled will of the employers.

We come finally to that aspect of the self-assertive impulse which, although most familiar, is also most ignored. The instinct of self-assertion is in its simplest form a craving for treatment that respects the self. People want in the first instance to have their self-respect unassaulted and unimpaired. It is interesting to run through Mr. Bruère's record of Western employers' and officials' estimates of the I.W.W. activities,[1] and see how such sentences as the following recur: —

> The Wobblies kept the peace from that day. What worked the miracle I have never been able to understand, unless it was that we guaranteed them equal treatment under the law and conferred with them as if they were human beings.
>
> I talked very plainly to them, but I talked to them as human beings and not as outcasts and criminals.
>
> I never saw a crew more radical than that crew was when I first appealed to them, and I never saw a more loyal crew than most of them under fair treatment.
>
> All our experience convinces me that these local I.W.W. men are amenable to reason and fair treatment.

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[1] Robert W. Bruère, *Following the Trail of the I.W.W.* Reprint from *New York Evening Post.*

Colonel Disque recognized their assertion of human dignity. . . . He sent his agents into the woods to talk to the lumber jacks with kindly good-nature and tact, to explain to them what the war was about and to enlist their coöperation in his enterprise. In return he guaranteed them equal treatment before the law . . . and promised to take up their grievances on their merits.

That this demand for self-respecting treatment has its suggestion for successful factory practice, is patent. The process of selecting employees, for example, is one that can run counter to every rightful claim of the individual for dignified and self-respecting treatment. Employment to the worker is not merely "getting a job"; it involves a decision about the way in which a man will spend three fourths of his waking time, and it means the securing of adequate maintenance for his family. To the worker employment is a serious matter. To the employer, for his own reasons, it should also be a serious matter. But what often happens? Men stand in line before an "Employment Office." They are interviewed by a man behind a counter, or through a glass door with a small round hole; they are asked a few ques-

tions which they must answer with all the other applicants standing about. The method has under these conditions three outstanding characteristics: it is perfunctory; it is cursory; it is humanly undignified. There is no proper respect of persons, of personal reserves or sensibilities.

Contrast with this, the treatment of applicants described in the following[1]:—

> There is a factory at Glasgow which may serve as an example. When a workman applies at the door, he is shown into a waiting-room furnished like the waiting-room of an ordinary office, and there the foreman comes to see him. He is interviewed alone, addressed as "Mr." and treated as a self-respecting member of Society. The way to encourage self-respect in a man is to show him respect.

No less significant in this same direction is the rule of a large department store that "all persons applying for employment in this house who are turned away must be treated so that they will go away wishing to be employed here as much or more than when they applied."

[1] Sidney Webb, see *The Works Manager Today*, p. 109, note.

Recognition by factory managers of the business value of understanding human nature could not be better illustrated than in this connection. This instinct of self-assertion, even at its weakest, will lead to a demand by workers for more and more considerate treatment. A technique of "personnel management" and "personnel service work" is developing to meet this need. But no degree of expertness in manipulating people with due regard for their self-respect will avail if it does not reckon with the depth of the roots from which this respect of self springs. Superficial good manners can never be a substitute for an attitude of genuine humanity and equality. Each person's instinct of self-assertion certainly requires that good manners characterize other people's dealings with him; but the instinct will never be satisfied until it secures for the self, consideration on terms of equality and amiability.

The President's Mediation Commission was speaking to this point when it said:—

> There is a commendable spirit throughout the country to correct specific evils. The leaders

in industry must go further; they must help to correct the state of mind on the part of labor; they must aim for the *release of normal feelings by enabling labor to take its place as a coöperator in industrial enterprise.* (Italics mine.)

And finally a successful and highly practical manufacturer [1] has this to say: —

We make it a policy to record the operations of the individual workmen in such a way that they have some means for recording their progress and are thereby able to realize just what their efforts are producing. This brings out what we call the creative faculty of the man to the fullest extent; he is able to really enjoy his work by being given opportunity for self-expression. In all of our operations we work to produce this result, realizing that we are primarily developing human beings and that plant efficiency is not an end in itself, but that the real aim is the development of men. I could tell you some very interesting things that have happened to men in our employ who have changed their habits of living, decidedly for the better, simply because they were being given opportunity to find joy in their work, and have changed from men doing negative, destructive work to men

[1] Robert B. Wolf in Proceedings of the Employment Managers' Conference, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April, 1917. Bulletin 227, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

doing positive, constructive work. It is a fact that is beginning to be recognized to-day by men who are thinking deeply along these lines that a man is internally purified by doing work which is fundamentally creative in nature. The desire for self-expression is one of the most fundamental instincts in human nature, and unless it is satisfied it is bound to manifest itself in all sorts of abnormal ways which to-day are working such havoc in society.

CHAPTER VII

THE INSTINCT OF SUBMISSIVENESS OR SELF-ABASEMENT

INDIVIDUALS in whom the tendency to submit is strong are more numerous than those in whom the tendency of self-assertion assumes influential proportions. Especially in industry do we see incontrovertible evidence that people desire to be led and to have aims and ends imposed upon them or at least defined for them. In fact, many people seem to derive a downright pleasure from being bossed. To be sure, this pleasure is not always a simple emotion. It may come from a sense of oneness with one's fellows who are also being bossed, or from conviction that the leader is right or infallible, or from intellectual inertia. But to rest back upon the dictates of another is to most people one of the deeply satisfying experiences of life. "Eternal independence and its necessary strife are too wearing on the common man and he longs for peace and protection in the shadow of a trust-inspiring

leader. To submit under right conditions is not only psychically pleasant, but much of the time to be leaderless is definitely distressing."[1] For this reason we are embarrassed by a wealth of examples which illustrate the activity of an instinct to submit.

For convenience' sake it will be well to distinguish between submissiveness born of fear and that born of admiration. How valid the distinction is psychologically it is impossible to say since fear and admiration are complex emotional states that probably partake of common elements. There is nevertheless a phase of submissiveness that is socially desirable and necessary; and there is a type of abasement that is apparently debasing. The instinct working out in one direction serves beneficent ends, working out in another it appears to block progress and impede wise developments.

As hero worship, submissiveness may or may not be salutary — depending wholly on

[1] Carleton H. Parker, on "Motives in Economic Life," *Proceedings*, American Economic Association, p. 225; *American Economic Review*, Supplement, March, 1918.

the character of the hero. A thoughtful editorial in *The Public*[1] in discussing this subject in relation to California labor politics, said plainly:—

> The worship of the strong man is often diverted to some labor chieftain. In San Francisco there are labor leaders who belong to fashionable clubs, who are seen at every prize-fight and every gala event in the smartest of clothes and with conspicuous diamonds. All their followers ask is that in a narrow segment of the common life they "deliver the goods" in an occasional wage increase or an occasional personal favor, and, by efficient management of the union's affairs, they maintain it as a bulwark against petty tyranny and a means of fostering its members' independence and self-respect. But outside of this field they not only expect their leaders to wax fat on the perquisites of politicians, but they actually glory in the fatness and sleekness and prestige of their chief. It is enough for them that now and then he can get a friend out of jail or do some other favors of the sort that are at the disposal of a political machine. That machine may have twin roots in the tenderloin and in the inner office of a public-service corporation, but the rank and file are tolerant.

And to point by contrast to the attitude of some other labor leaders the article goes on:—

[1] December 28, 1917.

Mr. W. S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, spoke from the heart recently when he said, in addressing an audience of Brotherhood men, "Congressmen have long since learned that to oppose the designs of the wealthy men of the United States is to bring upon themselves an avalanche of political opposition that surpasses in its intensity and efficiency even Prussian militarism. When members of these Brotherhoods can readily be hired by the funds contributed to a political campaign by these same wealthy men to defeat for election Congressmen and others who fought for the legislation objectionable to wealth, let us not be too quick to condemn Congressmen for not already having put an end to profiteering and not already having taxed war profits out of existence. When working-people are politically honest and have sufficient political intelligence to distinguish friends from foes, much of which they now bitterly complain will disappear as does a morning mist before a morning's sun."

Here, then, out of the mouth of one of labor's own leaders we have testimony as to the submissiveness of labor to leaders whose reputation will not bear careful scrutiny.

The writer was recently present at a turbulent union gathering which had been called at a critical moment in the contest with a

powerful corporation. The local members were clearly eager for immediate and direct action, and would hardly keep silent to hear their local speakers. But when the national leader entered the atmosphere changed. He was a popular favorite, a successful organizer. He harangued the men earnestly for half an hour in favor of watchful waiting; he advanced few if any arguments save that he would ask them to do nothing which was not for their own good; and he won a unanimous decision for his position. He may have thought and they may have thought that he persuaded them. He did not; he won them to him by the zeal and sincerity of his presence — by his personality.

This same domination of the strong personality was observable in the local union organization in one of the Eastern garment trades. But there the controlling clique became so strong, it enforced submission so successfully and so continually, that the humanly inevitable happened. The "machine" was suddenly ousted by an insurgent group who had submitted longer than they could endure. And

what the old leaders felt to be the basest ingratitude was in reality a far more unreasoned reaction to a prolonged submission.

Instances in which the employer or manager is an heroic figure in the eyes of employees are for obvious reasons growing rare. But one successful department store in a large Eastern city is in charge of a man who is really admired by his employees. To this manager, who wants to run his store on genuinely democratic lines, the subservience of the workers is a constant source of irritation. He stands up in meetings of the store employees and berates them roundly for their lack of initiative and aggressiveness. The spectacle of this gentleman belaboring the workers about their reluctance to assume leadership and responsibility is one to make the student of industrial democracy ponder and inquire more deeply into the psychological springs of action.

The same acquiescent submissiveness was illustrated at the writer's recent visit to a Middle Western plant where a meeting of all the employees was about to be held to take a referendum on some debated question. The

manager of the factory explained in conversation before the meeting that there was a division of opinion as to whether the shop should close all day Saturday before a legal holiday which fell on the following Tuesday, or work all day Saturday and not open again until Wednesday. For some reason the management preferred the former arrangement. The owner winked at me and remarked with a smile that he could guess beforehand the outcome of the balloting. He excused himself to preside at the meeting; and returned with the same bland smile to say that the vote was as he had anticipated: "In fact there was hardly any opposition; I made a speech and Mr. —— [the welfare secretary] made a speech; and then we voted —" The extraordinary part of it was that this owner thought he was running a democratic shop.

It is probable, however, that this last illustration shades off into the realm where submission is attributable to fear. This is surely the case in those companies which make it a practice to allow employees to appeal their grievances to the president of their corpora-

tion. Often these companies pride themselves on their generosity; but they are relying more or less consciously on the submissive tendencies of their workers to safeguard them in their show of liberal administration. For the plan generally works in some such way as this: When an appeal occurs the worker is taken into the president's office with its expensive and exalted atmosphere. There is the sense of being in the presence of the great and important. The president presses a button and a stenographer attends upon him. The whole situation is highly artificial and calculated to induce an unreal attitude of humility, insignificance, and weakness in the mind of the employee. The result must almost inevitably be that he hastens to acquiesce in whatever decision the president announces.[1]

[1] Mr. John Fitch in discussing "Two Years of the Rockefeller Plan" in *The Survey*, October 6, 1917, throws light on this point. He says: "If the miner with a grievance prefers he may appeal from the decision of the superintendent to the president's industrial representative and he may then appeal, if he wishes, to 'the division manager, assistant manager or manager, general manager, or the president of the company in consecutive order.' Or after the superin-

In contrast to this policy is that of a Boston department store where no one is discharged without appearing before a committee composed only of store employees who in the last analysis have the power of discharge in their hands. It was this store's experience in a recent year that under this arrangement a half of the discharges were sustained and a half rescinded. It is not strange, therefore, that the unions are generally so anxious to safeguard the discharge policy. The individual worker faced with removal must submit; even if he appeals there is the probable antagonism to live down of the superior against whom he appeals. Only in league with his fellow-workers can he present a sufficiently effective front to assure that his case is decided on its merits.

tendent, some higher official, and the committee on conciliation and coöperation have in turn passed on his case he may appeal to the Industrial Commission of the State. It is n't easy to conceive of the miner who would go through all that system of appeals. If he went through it and won, how happy his position would be back on the job in the mine under the whole hierarchy of officials over whose heads he had appealed from pit boss to general manager! So far only one case has been appealed to the Industrial Commission."

Convincing and graphic testimony of the way in which pressure is exerted on workers appears in a letter submitted by a group of workers in Portland, Oregon, to the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board on October 16, 1917:—

For some years previous to 1907 [it says] a number of trades employed in the metal trades industry enjoyed union shop conditions, with the result that there existed a more harmonious feeling between the employer and employees.

Some ten years ago the National Metal Trades Association, an organization of employers, was formed and they immediately adopted and started to put in force their so-called "open shop" policy. The result of putting this policy into effect, several of the trades at different periods went on strike against the enforcement of the open shop policy. The labor organizations were defeated and the open shop policy has prevailed in Portland and vicinity for ten years or more.

The association of employers maintains an office and a paid official. Men applying for work at their respective trades were told to make application through this office if they desired employment. When the man making application appeared at this office they were forced to give a complete record of their past life and the information secured in this manner was filed away

for future reference when the men applied for work elsewhere. One of the many questions asked was, "Do you belong to the union?" and if the man answered in the affirmative he was either refused employment or told that there was no work at the time. Under their system men belonging to the union were unable to secure employment unless they dropped their union affiliations. In a number of cases men were forced to bring their union card to the employer and the employer proceeded to destroy the card and the men were allowed to go to work.

The result of the employers adopting this policy was the moving to other localities of a number of the men and those that remained were either forced to drop their union affiliations or endure long periods of idleness.

The Association policy was followed by a very noticeable decrease in wages in this vicinity.

Men were prohibited from leaving one shop to go to another to secure better conditions of employment. Quite a number of obnoxious conditions were imposed upon the men, such as bad shop conditions and inefficient fellow-servants that endangered men's lives.

As a result of the oppression of the anti-union policy enacted by the employers, three classes of men remained in Portland and vicinity, the others preferring to move to localities where they might receive more consideration at the hands of the employers through the efforts of organized labor.

The three classes of men who remained to endure the anti-union policy were as follows: —

First, the men who by reason of their domestic relations or for the sake of the little home owned or perchance hoped to own some day, and the part ownership of which represented all they had saved, and might be snatched away from them if they were unable to continue payments thereof;

Second, those men whose very nature compels them to submit to every abuse to the very limits of human endurance;

Third, that class of men who are shunned by members of labor organizations for atrocities directed by them against members of labor organizations.

This letter deserves a second reading, so clear is its statement of the repressive tactics that have kept the workers down, accentuated the submissive tendencies, and created a state of mind in which vital impulses are held in check and thwarted in their expression. It is incidents like this which led the President's Mediation Commission to say: —

Repressive dealing with manifestations of labor unrest is the source of much bitterness, turns radical labor leaders into martyrs and thus increases their following, and worst of all, in the minds of workers tends to implicate the

Government as a partisan in an economic conflict. The problem is a delicate and difficult one. There is no doubt, however, that the Bisbee and Jerome deportations, the Everett incident, the Little hanging, and similar acts of violence against workers have had a very harmful effect upon labor both in the United States and in some of the allied countries. Such incidents are attempts to deal with symptoms rather than causes. The I.W.W. has exercised its strongest hold in those industries and communities where employers have most resisted the trade-union movement and where some form of protest against unjust treatment was inevitable.

But the most dramatic example of the dominance of self-abasement is the structure and character of our present system of producing goods — the essence of which is the control of production by capital-holders. It creates the master and servant, employer and employee, boss and gang, vested interest and landless proletariat relationship — a situation in which submission is at present essential to the earning of a livelihood. With absolutism of control in the ordinary non-union large-scale shop, corporations have been able to rely upon the meekness of disposition among workers to "get away with" the rules im-

posed and the disciplinary methods used. When we recall that the management hires, promotes, fires, discharges, demotes, decides hours and wages without interference wherever it can, we must realize that "the Nemesis of docility" is at hand. And what makes matters worse is that submission on one side fosters domination on the other until a theory has developed and is openly supported by many employers that a benevolent but firm despotism is the secret of successful factory management. And as a temporary expedient the theory is unfortunately all too true. The rub comes, as has been pointed out, when the workers have been cared for long enough to store up energy and be filled with disgust at paternalism.

The strength of the instinct of self-effacement seems, in other words, to be in direct proportion to the physical or nervous weakness of the individual or group. Just as in times of loss or depression or discouragement the individual is most forcibly impelled to submissive recognition of a higher power, so when he has not the energy or intelligence to impose his

will on the environment, he is compelled to accept the commands of this world's leaders. The first condition of revolt is not a long-continued abject destitution (which breeds indifference); it is a minimum physical basis of health and vigor which permits the direction of attention to other affairs than the immediate hour-to-hour problem of keeping body and soul together. That this fact of submission not only in the form of hero worship or fear, but in lethargy, is recognizably at the root of some of the most serious industrial problems is appreciated in the following discussion of the English coöperative movement.[1] The quotation points to the same fact which is being noted here and shows clearly the dangers into which this too great self-abasement brings industry:—

> We cannot resist the inference that it is in this tendency of the average man to relapse into apathy and indifference, with regard to all forms of social organization not affording a perpetual daily stimulant to personal activity that the Coöperative Democracy (equally with other democracies) will find its most serious obstacle.

[1] Supplement to *The New Statesman*, May 30, 1914.

The apathy and indifference of the Coöperative membership fosters some of the besetting evils of the movement. It tempts the executive to slackness, and it makes it possible for favoritism or corruption to creep in. At best, it fosters the growth of a bureaucracy, which may or may not be efficient, but which seldom has a good effect on the members.

Professor Parker has gone much farther than this, claiming that the repression which accompanies at least the itinerant workers' economic subjection is noticeably pathological.[1]

The western hobo [he says] tries in a more or less frenzied way to compensate for a general all-embracing thwarting of his nature by a wonderful concentration of sublimitation activities on the wander instinct. The monotony, indignity, dirt, and sexual apologies of, for instance, the unskilled worker's life bring their definite fixations, their definite irrational, inferiority obsessions.

The balked laborer here follows one of the two described lines of conduct: (1) he either weakens, becomes inefficient, drifts away, or (2) he indulges in a true type inferiority com-

[1] Carleton H. Parker on "Motives in Economic Life." *Proceedings*, American Economic Association, p. 230; *American Economic Review*, Supplement, March, 1918.

pensation, and in order to dignify himself, to eliminate for himself his inferiority in his own eyes, he strikes or brings on a strike; he commits violence, or he stays on the job and injures machinery, or mutilates the materials. He is fit food for dynamite conspiracies. He is ready to make sabotage a part of his regular habit scheme. His condition is one of mental stress and unfocused psychic unrest, and could in all accuracy be called a definite industrial psychosis. He is neither willful nor responsible, he is suffering from a stereotyped mental disease. . . .

I suggest that this unrest is a true revolt psychosis, a definite mental unbalance, an efficiency psychosis, as it were, and has its definite psychic antecedents.

If this is true, if there really does result a mental unbalance because the worker has been so long "jobless, voteless, and womanless," students and reformers are surely overlooking the results of the submissive type of instinctive behavior, as well as its prevalence. Professor Parker, in consequence of his analysis, was engaged at the time of his death in an effort to make the life of the itinerant worker more endurable — to enfranchise him, to recover him to community and family contacts, to surround him with wholesome work-

ing conditions. "The cure lies," he said, "in taking care of the psychic antecedents."

When, therefore, the scoffers at the possibilities of democracy in the control of institutions point to the present acceptance of domination and exploitation, we must remind them that people are responding to a situation in a one-sided and therefore dangerous way. The instinctive basis for their conduct has been abnormally restricted and is unduly simple. The instinct to submit has the upper hand. But there are other more liberating instincts which when properly quickened respond with a vigor that gains in potency with training and use. People are submissive, not because submissiveness is normally the dominant trait, but because adverse conditions of heredity and environment have made servility most easy or most expedient.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INSTINCT OF THE HERD

THE instinct of the herd is the impulsion to be and stay with those of one's kind. Presumably this tendency was originally simple and direct. But as the "herd" has grown in size and as various groups have sprung up within it, this instinct has come to manifest itself simultaneously in respect to various groupings. What, then, is the herd and what are the characteristic responses which this instinct elicits?

The herd is to-day the group which is able to impress its protective value upon the individual to the point of his accepting its dictates. If this is true it is clear that the same individual can simultaneously or successively belong to different groups which under changing circumstances impress him with their worth as protecting agencies. Indeed, in contemporary human affairs we face a situation which is unique in point of the extent and

quality of the protecting groups. Neighborhoods, labor-unions, employers' associations, churches, cities, states, nations — these are some of the most compelling and effective groupings toward which we may expect manifestations of the instinct of the herd.

If we consider the situation in England at the outbreak of the war we see this diversity of loyalties asserted in unmistakable fashion.[1] It was with great effort that the rank and file of British trade-unionists were finally convinced that this was a war in which they had any vital interest as citizens of Great Britain. They had been familiar so long with a state of affairs in which the Government represented an exploiting and opposing interest, that it was well-nigh impossible for them to believe the national group as such was threatened to an extent which made it necessary for loyalty to it to take precedence over the allegiance demanded by the working-class movement.

The "fall of the international," as the failure of the working-class groups in the warring

[1] For detailed examination of this evidence see G. D. H. Cole's *Labor in War-Time*, especially chap. I.

countries to refuse to fight their fellow-workers has been characterized, is another evidence that an instinctive loyalty can be and is transferred from one group to another whenever this change is believed to be necessary for self-protection.

The conclusion to which the facts point regarding the way in which this instinct finds its objects of stimulation is this: The instinct of the herd will manifest itself most completely in connection with the group which at the moment offers what appears to be the most urgently needed protection; and it will shift its attachment as the need for protection shifts. In the absence of any consciousness of the necessity for protection, the individual's behavior will be determined by that of the people with whom he associates.

This brings us to the second question, namely, as to the characteristics of the behavior which is expressive of gregariousness. Trotter [1] differentiates several elements at least two of which are being specifically treated

[1] W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, p. 112 *et seq.*

in this discussion in connection with other impulses. He ascribes to this instinct: —

1. The fear of solitude.
2. Greater sensitiveness to the voice of the herd than to other voices.
3. Heightened suggestibility to the passions of the herd both in aggressive violence and in panics of fear.
4. Heightened susceptibility to leadership.
5. Necessity for having identity recognizable if relationship to the herd is to be maintained.

(1) At first blush the fear of solitude would not seem to help in accounting for conduct in industrial affairs whose essence is the coöperation of large groups of people. The tendency does, however, offer a practical clue to events of both minor importance and large significance.

Employees whose work requires them to be alone in stock-rooms, storage-places or at watchmen's jobs have often to be paid additionally or to be transferred occasionally to other jobs, or they will leave. It is also true that the maximum volume of output is achieved only in a room where there are other people, although too many others may prove equally

distracting. Experiment is still needed to establish the degree of solitude which contributes best to production, and it is probable that in each type of industry a different basis of association will be found to be most satisfactory.

Another interesting example of what may be in part the working-out of this impulse is the unwillingness of girls to go into domestic service where they are alone in a kitchen for thirteen hours a day. While this is, of course, a phenomenon of complex causes, it seems reasonable from the evidence at hand that this explanation is a real if partial one. The available figures about the occupations of girls with illegitimate children show that there are more who have been formerly in domestic service than in any other one occupation. That this is an evidence of loneliness and solitude compensated for at the highest price, seems a fair construction of the facts.

But the more impressive illustrations of the working-out of this trait are more general in character and less susceptible to proof or confirmation. It may, for example, be plausibly

speculated that dislike of solitude promoted the rapid creation of the propertyless working groups which have been flocking to the cities throughout the last two centuries, not only in this country, but throughout the civilized world. Love of kind undoubtedly keeps many people constantly shut up in city tenements and apartments, although that manner of life costs them dearly in money and health. Only those who have been connected with "back-to-the-land," "garden-city," or "model-village" movements know how great is the effort required to get city workers even to consider moving into the suburbs to live. And the reason advanced ten times for every other excuse is that "it's so lonely out there."

(2) The fact that we are more sensitive, which generally means more submissive, to the voice of the group than to any other voice is exemplified so constantly and in so many ways as hardly to need elaborate illustration. Its practical importance is, of course, enormous. For it is this sensitiveness which helps to secure that conformity, discipline, and coherence which are essential to effective group

activity. But the characteristic is a source of weakness when it helps to keep those members who have new ideas silent and oppressed. It works, for example, to keep labor leaders from proposing reforms which they may see to be necessary, but for which they dare not take a stand with their constituents; it helps to prevent workers from trying to overthrow leaders with whom they disagree, but whose ability to carry the crowd they at the same time fear.

A good illustration of the leaders' sensitiveness to the voice of the group was recently afforded in a textile center where the local trade-union official had been discharged from the mill in which he worked on grounds that were universally conceded to be justified. This official had boasted of his ability to "get away with" little and careless work because of his position as president of the local union. (In this, of course, his unsatisfied instinct to domination was getting thorough, if unwise, expression.) After giving him every chance the management finally had to let him go, whereupon he proceeded to call a strike. The employer at once called in a union

official whose jurisdiction was State-wide and had him investigate the situation. The State official admitted that the local agent was in the wrong, but said that he would nevertheless have to uphold him. The only valid explanation for such conduct seems to be that the State labor organization was reluctant to do anything to displease or weaken its local branch. It was, in a word, highly sensitive to the voice of this group, while wholly disregarding the opinion or judgment of any other group in that community.

(3) The fact of the heightened suggestibility that exists among individuals in a group has become commonplace. In every gathering of human beings called together for whatever purpose the evidences of this suggestibility will be abundantly found.

The previously cited [1] incident of the union meeting which was addressed by the national organizer who persuaded the men to delay their strike illustrates very typically the way in which a group, almost against its will, is brought to believe that its opinion has been

[1] See *ante* p. 117.

changed by argument, whereas in reality it has been brought about by the impact of the suggestions of a platform full of accredited leaders. If, in this instance, the leaders had had to convert the members in individual conference, it is doubtful whether they would have had the slightest measure of success. A similar conclusion seems inevitable with regard to the outcome of the employees' referendum mentioned in our discussion of submissiveness.[1] Had it been possible for the workers in that plant to have gone into booths and voted by the Australian system a day after their meeting, it is improbable that they would have voted so unanimously with the management.

(4) That the group is more easily captivated by the leader than is the individual, is only another evidence that groups respond more instinctively than individuals to given stimuli, because they respond more fully, uncritically, and rapidly. The strategic place which the leader can and does assume has already been pointed out in discussing submissiveness.

[1] See *ante* pp. 118, 119.

(5) The biological necessity of recognizing the members of one's own herd, flock, or tribe carries over to some extent into the field of modern human affairs. An immediately concrete case in point was revealed in the labor troubles at Everett, Washington, where, "in breaking up the crowds gathered to hear the speakers [of the I.W.W.] the deputies tied white handkerchiefs around their necks 'so we would n't hammer our own men' as one of them explained on the stand."[1]

One of the things which makes the organizing of labor in this country such a slow, uphill fight is reluctance to be identified with the working-class group and the difficulty of immediately "placing" people socially and economically. One of the obstacles to be overcome by union officials in organizing certain of the garment trades of our large cities has been the unwillingness of ambitious workers to be known as "manual laborers" because of their hope of one day setting up as employers themselves.

The domestic servant, the store clerk, the

[1] See article on "The Verdict at Everett," in *The Survey*, May 19, 1917.

college graduate, the stenographer — all step forth from their day's occupation with the marks of class or trade more or less effectually obscured, not accidentally, but intentionally. This obliteration of special identifying marks, with the intention which prompts it, is to a large extent responsible for the lack of group activity where there might well be group-conscious organizations to assure adequate protection. It is this conscious intention which prompts to an obliteration of special identifying marks that raises the great psychological barrier to working-class organization. This unquestionably has its advantages in a country where the creation of class lines is supposed to be undemocratic and disruptive. But it has its difficulties in that it blinds people to the necessity of maintaining some sort of definite, reciprocal relations with the economic group with which they have common interests. The protection which should properly come to the unskilled workers, to store clerks, to office employees, by virtue of an organization based on common economic interests, is to-day largely lacking because the

ambition and pride which the American spirit fosters, renders us unwilling to be classed and organized as "common workers." One of the complicating factors in the attempt to organize women wage-earners in particular is just this reluctance to be known as a worker, which has grown out of the age-old tradition that it is unladylike to go out to work.

The same inability to identify the group with which one has common cause is to be observed where the common bonds of language and past association are lacking.[1] There are

[1] Interesting confirmation of this observation is to be found in the Report of the President's Mediation Commission, where it says: "The polyglot character of the workers adds the difficulty of racial diversities. In one camp twenty-six and in another as many as thirty-two nationalities were represented. The industry contains within itself the Balkan problem on a small scale. In other camps, even where there was not great racial diversity, large numbers were non-English speaking, particularly Mexicans. The seeds of dissension among the workers render difficult their cohesion, and the presence of non-English speaking labor tends even to greater misunderstanding between management and men than is normal in American industry. . . . The trade-union movement is the most promising unifying spirit among the workers. The progress of the movement, however, is impeded by the traditional opposition of the com-

employers who have a definite policy of hiring several different nationalities in one department of a factory in order that workers may be less able to communicate effectually and therefore less able to cause trouble. It will, indeed, take a new sort of experience for Magyar, Greek, Pole, Turk, Armenian, Russian Jew, and Sicilian to realize that as common toilers in a single factory they have identical aims and should stand together in a group loyalty which is of a more urgent character than the ancient animosities which they still cherish. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that the herd instinct is beginning to manifest itself even in this situation. No vestigial enmities can resist the insistent claims of self-preservation which prompt to joint action with one's bench-mates. The demands for self-protection are immediate and imperious. Before them, discriminations of race, color, sex,

panies, by difficulties due to racial diversities and by internal dissensions in the miners' International. The resulting weakness of the organization deprived the industry of the discipline over workers exercised by stronger unions and gave the less responsible leaders a freer field for activity."

and age can be counted on to dwindle and eventually disappear. Employers cannot hope to foil for very long the operation of this instinct which tends to seek its vital expression in terms of an immediate, practical situation.

In addition to these five characteristics of the herd instinct which affect group conduct, other instincts are also manifested in herd behavior—such as pugnacity, self-assertion, and self-abasement. Their presence and influence give rise to further possible complexities, for we have seen already, in treating these instincts as they show themselves in individual conduct, that there are three possible alternative results of their existence. Instincts may find expression; they may be repressed or suppressed; they may be "sublimated"—that is, the energies they arouse may be directed into channels other than the usual ones. The same alternatives are present in the manifestation of instincts by human groups. But in group conduct the dangers of expression and suppression are intensified and the likelihood of sublimation is decreased. The danger of expression is, of course, the danger of over-

doing, of over-satisfying an instinct in relation to the other instinctive claims and activities of life. The workers of Youngstown, Ohio,[1] who made a clean sweep of a group of saloons in which not a mirror or bottle was left whole, had just such a satiating orgy of revenge and destruction. Similarly, lumber jacks who come to town with their pockets full of money and are penniless after the debauches of a few days, are the victims of an over-satisfaction of certain instincts.

The dangers of suppression we have already discussed in relation to individual activity. But serious as suppression is to the individual, its dangers seem to increase in geometric proportion where whole groups are involved. One starving man standing before an open fruit store may be a potential thief of a crude, petty sort; a thousand starving strikers rushing into the market-place can be a goaded mob of bedeviled human animals. Indeed, one of the most urgently practical lessons which is to be learned from a study of applied psychology is that many aspects of the labor problem

[1] See *ante*, p. 79.

to-day present pathological characteristics because of the suppression of one or another compelling instinct. And a kind of diagnosis and treatment is required which must be as penetrating and drastic as the original repression was stupid and severe.

The energies of a group are normally less easy to divert or sublimate than those of an individual. The discovery of new and satisfying channels of expression, which successful sublimation entails, demands time and experiment; and adjustment to the discovery requires a still longer period. But a group, especially if it is organized to enforce its desires, tends to act impulsively, on the spur of the moment. A will-organization or an enthusiasm-creating body wants no obstacles to a quick response. A thought-organization on the other hand is by deliberate intention freer from this danger. Hence, if we are to talk intelligently of the possibility of sublimating group instincts, we must discover first the purpose of the group and the conditions under which it acts and should act best to achieve its ends. In this direction lies a fruitful field

for further inquiry. Indeed, the relation of the sublimating process to the whole educational scheme, to the possibility of progress, to a criterion of "civilization," has only begun to be realized. The question inevitably arises: can we hope to secure among people acting in large groups that balance in their reaction to all the extraordinary stimuli of the modern world which will conserve their own vitality and assure the group's perpetuation? The question can be crudely but vividly put in another form: can we educate for freedom and individual self-expression; or do the demands of our huge group enterprises require that we educate for a quite docile regimentation of human units? And can we do the latter with safety, looking at the problem simply from the point of view of our knowledge of the assertive and self-directive behavior to which the human nervous organism seems committed?

We do know, I believe, that protective groups will tend to change the direction or *milieu* of their instinctive responses less rapidly than individuals, since their reactions are likely to be relatively direct and impulsive.

Groups or associations, whether of trade-unionists, employers, or consumers, are natively more intense, fickle, and primitive than are their constituent members as individuals. This is borne out by all experience with group activity and the only reason for stressing the point is that it makes the passion that characterizes strikes and class hatred more readily understandable. The strong instinctive reasons for fighting in groups which underpaid, exploited, and voiceless strikers possess, lead inevitably to direct, instinctive methods of carrying on the fight and of conducting the protective group.

In the animal world Trotter distinguishes between herds which secure their protection by aggression and those which secure it by defensive association. The wolf and the cow are taken as typifying the two methods. The distinction is not one that carries over into human groupings in any very hard-and-fast way. Biologically man's groups are normally more defensive than otherwise. But given the large defensive group, like a nation, in which protection from outside forces is as-

sured, smaller groups will inevitably appear within to assert their own special interests. Such groups often reveal an aggressively propagandist behavior because the only reason for rallying a strongly protective group is the sense of a wrong to be righted or an injustice to be redressed. On the other hand, a group may arise in response to a demand for the performance of some function less educational than administrative in character.

Labor-unions are aggressive groups of the former origin. They came into being in response to intolerable conditions of exploitation to which workers found themselves subjected. Their function has been essentially and aggressively protective — which implies a zealous, uncritical attachment to the obviously immediate interests of the group. The protective work has been and still is essential. But in industries where labor is better organized there is being demanded of unions a more positive acceptance of responsibility for the control of affairs. The community is beginning to ask them to assume a super-protective character; to become a partner to the

productive enterprise. And the community, especially the employers, have already become exceedingly impatient at the unions for not having taken a more responsible interest in production as such.

This is poor psychology on the employers' part. Unions cannot be expected to undertake the anxieties and responsibilities of production until their anxiety about the fundamental matters which brought them into being is allayed. The instinct for workmanship cannot assert itself actively until the instincts more directly concerned with immediate survival are given satisfaction. And thus far the members of any but the strongest unions do not occupy a place of extraordinary economic security. Nevertheless, the demand that workers in shop committees and even on boards of directors take a part in directing the productive processes will grow greatly in the next decade. The present war has added extraordinarily to the sentiment in favor of working-class representation in the government of industry. And this representation will inevitably carry with it the necessity for taking a

closer interest in the mechanism of production. In this new likelihood of a larger share in control, labor will, if it plays a statesman's rôle, find a needed leverage for immediately securing the guarantees of an adequate minimum subsistence.

It is the absence of these immediate guarantees which constitutes the fundamental reason why the incorporation of trade-unions and the including of loss-sharing features in profit-sharing schemes cannot be at present accepted by the workers. They must first have some assured margin of subsistence upon which they can fall back.

Concrete evidence of what I mean is seen in the proposals of the British Trade-Union Congress of 1916 for an industrial truce of three years at the conclusion of the war. Here we see the unions deliberately offering to throw over the right to strike which they have always held to be their chief protective device. But they will renounce this right, they say, only on a basis of the employers' acceptance of the following terms: a forty-eight-hour week, a compulsory minimum wage of thirty

shillings per week, recognition of the unions, and Government unemployment insurance.[1] In other words, assure them enough to support their families when there is work; give them an adequate subsidy when there is no work; assure a working week of decent length and an organized procedure of discussing working conditions and grievances — and they will work in the expectation of settling secondary controversies by peaceful means.

It would be hard to find a more apt illustration of my point. A group instinctively protective in function can expand its function and become a responsible partner in production only as its original reason for being is fulfilled. Which means that labor groups will become responsible and coöperative, not with exhortation, but by being assured decent minimum working standards on a basis of which other interests can be attended to.

We can conceive of the American Federation of Labor assuming a place of responsible participation in the control of industry more readily than the Industrial Workers of the

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, October 28, 1916.

World. And the reason is that the A.F. of L. is more firmly intrenched in the community. It is a strong organization ramifying into politics, with sick and death benefits in some of its branches, with legislative agents, with an increasing number of collective agreements to which it is a party. Whereas the I.W.W. has thus far been the friend of the friendless; it has had to fight hard on every side for every inch of gain; its members are unlettered; even its theories are the logical corollary of its espousal of the dispossessed. The whole [1] terminology of the I.W.W. and the tone of its literature are those of an uncompromising "fighting organization." And it is inevitable that it should be so. For its primary mission as an aggressively protective group is as yet unaccomplished. Indeed, the members of the group from which this organization is drawn only slowly and spasmodically reach the point where they can identify their common interests, and understand that power comes with cohesive action. This alone can account for the

[1] See Carleton H. Parker, "The I.W.W.," *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1917.

slowness with which it — or any other organization of the unskilled — gains in numbers and power.

Our discussion of the manifestation of herd instinct in industrial affairs confirms the point that existing loyalties and groupings are not static and given. They vary with the kind and extent of protection needed. Several necessary groupings and loyalties can and do coexist. And for any group to be able successfully to make prior claim upon the loyalty of the individual it must convince the individual of its supreme efficacy. But it is almost impossible to-day for any one group to make good its claim to priority. The protection which all of us require is not accorded by any supreme group; it is distributed among several. Hence it comes about that sovereignty, to use a recent writer's phrase,[1] has become plural. And for this fact of plural allegiances there are good psychological reasons in addition to those in the world of political theory. It becomes urgently necessary, in consequence, for each in-

[1] See Harold J. Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, Yale University Press, 1917.

dividual to sense the relative value, purpose, and potential effectiveness of the several groups with which he is in contact, especially those in connection with industry. This understanding is to be achieved only by study of the past experience of groups and by deliberately planning and experimenting with them to see how the needed protection and correlation of efforts is to be achieved.

In other words, *thought* is required to bring groups to vital usefulness. We look to thought to discover and to help into articulate being those various kinds of associations which will protect the individual in the conflicting currents and maladjustments of the economic world. But discussion of the uses of thought must be temporarily postponed. For our immediate purpose we turn to a discussion of an instinct which, if we read the newspaper headlines, might appear to have every opportunity to-day for complete satisfaction — the instinct of pugnacity.

CHAPTER IX

THE INSTINCT OF PUGNACITY

THE instinct of pugnacity is the prompting to fight. The nature and character of the fight can vary enormously, although in its beginnings the instinct presumably sought satisfaction in a sense of mastery gained from hand-to-hand physical conflict — a satisfaction gained from hopes of self-preservation.

Thorndike[1] differentiates several forms of pugnacity: (1) activity directed toward escape from restraint, (2) toward overcoming a moving obstacle, (3) an irrational response to pain, (4) a counter-attack. Exhibitions of pugnacity in industrial affairs give evidence of all of these forms.

(1) The strike at Ludlow, Colorado, in 1914, illustrated the first form admirably. The town was a company-owned town; food and shelter were to be bought only at company

[1] See Thorndike, *The Original Nature of Man*, pp. 22–25 (condensed edition).

prices; the coal at the mouth of the mine was weighed by a company representative; the local courts were corrupt, there was no redress for grievances. Mr. Fitch, in his dispassionate discussion[1] of this prolonged conflict, has vividly suggested the peculiarities which surround such a situation:—

> Coal mines are not developed like a factory at a convenient place outside some town or "camp." A shaft is sunk wherever the coal happens to be. If there is no town at hand, and there generally is not, the operator must build one before he can get men to come and work in his mine.
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> Having assembled a group of people in a place remote from other towns, it becomes necessary to provide them with foodstuffs and other essentials. There must be a store, and usually there is no one with requisite capital to build and maintain one but the operating company. There is no coal-mining State whether East, West, or South, where this system of private town ownership, despite occasional exceptions, is not the historic and expected condition.
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> This, of course, creates a situation with re-

[1] See J. A. Fitch, "Law and Order," *The Survey*, December 3, 1914. This whole article should be read by any one interested to see how the psychological point of view can enhance our understanding of the phenomena of industrial unrest.

spect to local government and the relationship between landlord and tenant very different from that obtaining in villages that have grown up in the ordinary way. . . . The coal miner must go away from home to get off his employer's property. He is on it when asleep in bed. He is still on it if he stands on the street. He does not escape by going to church, and in many cases his children are still on company property when they are at school. The employing company is frequently the only taxpayer in the camp, and so exercises a greater influence in all phases of local government than do the people who make their homes there. . . .

It must be evident that this gives the employer a degree of control that he could not possibly exercise if he were conducting an enterprise in a manufacturing town. For example, the lease, under which employes of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company occupy houses belonging to the company, contains a clause providing that it may be terminated by the company on three days' notice and the occupant dispossessed. The same provision or a similar one appears in the leases of the other companies also. A man cannot offend his employer without getting into trouble with his landlord at the same time.

That this is a wholly natural development is clear. The companies are not to be blamed for it. On the contrary, they would be most severely taken to task if they should fail to provide suitable dwellings, and where necessary, a store.

It is also clear, however, that this system of private ownership of towns gives a power to the coal operators that they could not dream of possessing if they were conducting an enterprise in an established city. . . .

In Colorado, mining camps are referred to as "closed" or "open." . . . An open camp is one which has an open highway leading to it. The closed camp is entirely surrounded by private property and there is no highway entering it. There are roads, of course, leading to these camps, but the roads are on private property just as are the streets in the camps themselves. A traveler upon these roads is a trespasser and may be turned back by an agent of the coal company owning the land. There is nothing to prevent a traveler's approaching an open camp, but once there he may be prevented from walking upon the streets, which are private property. . . .

The camp marshal usually stations himself at the entrance of the camp and stops every stranger who approaches and questions him as to his purpose. It is easy to keep watch because the camps are located in cañons, and there is usually but one road by which a traveler may approach. If the traveler cannot give an account of himself that is satisfactory to the marshal, he will be ordered back.

A strike that arises under these conditions is not inaptly characterized as a response actuated by a "desire to escape from restraint." In

the situation here recounted the restraint is the more galling for having been so complete over body and mind, and so openly exercised. A more absolute denial of the natural claims of human nature for all-around expression, could hardly be equaled in modern industry; so that under these circumstances the desire to fight hard and furiously is not to be marveled at.

(2) Pugnacity to overcome a moving obstacle is plainly evidenced in the following: A crowd composed largely of workers from New York's East Side was, just before our entrance into the war, emerging from Madison Square Garden after a strongly socialistic anti-war meeting. A luxuriously appointed limousine containing two men who were living images of the Beef-Trust cartoons found itself stalled in the middle of the throng. As soon as he realized the situation, the owner of the car leaned across to the chauffeur and gave the word to go ahead regardlessly. Whereupon the car started and began to knock people to right and left. In an instant the crowd swarmed over the machine so that it came to a stand-

still, and the occupants were in danger of losing their lives when the police interfered. The fighting response which that moving embodiment of blatant wealth called forth was as deep-rooted as it was instantaneous.

(3) To see the type of behavior occasioned by an irrational response to pain, watch a policeman using even the mildest force in keeping back a crowd at a parade or fire. The people may be as amiable and tractable as you please, but let a number of them get stepped upon or pushed about severely, or even touched by the policeman or his stick so that actual pain is inflicted or pride wounded, and an ugly temper will be quickly aroused. In a strike where feelings are running high the very presence of police or militia has again and again proved enough to arouse all the latent pugnacity of crowds both in resentment of possible pain and in definite planning of attacks upon the "guardians of the law."

(4) The Ludlow strike affords a graphic illustration of the pugnacity aroused in a counter-attack. Mr. Fitch's exposition of this affair continues: —

It was the next day that the cave was discovered that ought to be known as the "Black Hole of Ludlow." In it were the bodies of two women and eleven children. Nothing so completely illustrates the unspeakable horrors of industrial warfare carried to the utmost extreme. As to responsibility for this tragedy, the evidence is again hopelessly conflicting. I can only record my belief — and I confess that an apparently good case can be made against this belief — that despite the despicable and criminal acts of some of the militiamen that day, they were not responsible for these deaths. The women and children had not been shot. They had not been burned by the fire of the tents. Apparently all were suffocated because there was not enough air in that hole in the ground to sustain so many people. In my opinion they were not murdered by the militia. They were innocent victims of one of the most cruel and barbarous and unnecessary of industrial wars.

After that, the strikers went mad. For a week they were bereft of reason. The belief that the Ludlow tent colony had been deliberately attacked by the soldiers of the State, and the fact that women and children were dead as a result, led them to believe that a war of extermination was on. They determined that if they must fight they would be the aggressors. A call to arms was issued. Working-men all over the State were appealed to, to secure arms and begin to drill.

The chronology of the events of the next few

days was given by the operators in their brief submitted to the Congressional Committee, as follows: —

April 20. Battle between strikers and militia at Ludlow.

April 22. Empire mine burned; three mine guards killed by strikers in battle; strikers fire on Hastings and Dalagua. Skirmish between militia and strikers in Black Hills. Southwestern mining camp captured by strikers.

April 25. Truce was declared between the striking miners and the militia.

April 25. While truce was still in force, Chandler mining camp was captured, buildings looted, and one man killed and one wounded.

April 28. Lynn depot robbed of ammunition. Battle at Royal Mine. Primrose and Ruby camps fired upon by strikers. Thirty people entombed in Empire mine.

April 28. Strikers attack and capture Forbes mine, kill 9 employes and burn buildings, etc., etc. . . .

In this situation the fighting spirit of the miners had been stirred to its depths because of their belief that the militia had attacked them, and because their families had suffered irreparable injury. The facts of this conflict

serve to illustrate only too clearly the strength of the passion to fight back in reprisal of previous attacks.

The question that presses for answer to-day, therefore, as urgently in industrial situations as internationally, is this: Can the prompting to fight be satisfied otherwise than in combat where there is physical contact and a deep stirring of hate? The emotional release which accompanies fighting is possibly one form of relaxation and purging. Is it a necessary form? Fighting taps unrealized sources of energy, and unifies, for the time at least, action and life. Can nothing else accomplish these ends?

The answer seems to be that we do not know because we have never really tried a deliberate and systematic sublimation of this instinct. But there are indications that we can, if we will, supply in other ways the needed stimulus, the desired release, the ringing summons to action and achievement. Industry properly organized can probably offer some partial outlet to the pugnacious tendencies. Presumably one of the incidental glories of

the competitive system has been the opportunity it afforded for a "cut-throat" engagement between individual employers no less than between capital and labor. It is not only conceivable but likely that the struggle for sound social and industrial organization can for some decades to come give substantial satisfaction for the fighting spirit of many men. Indeed, this is one of the criteria by which industrial reorganization must be judged. Does it tend to provide outlet for the fighting energy in useful or at least innocuous channels?

In the consumers' coöperative movement, in the trade-union movements, in agricultural associations like the Non-Partisan League, in the movement among managers to "humanize" industry, there is ample scope for all the zeal, abandonment, consecration, and desire for distinction and supremacy in conflict, which the cruder sorts of fighting may elicit. Sacrifices have been made in these directions and reputations won without a thought of pecuniary gain. If what we seek in giving scope for the fighting spirit is release, self-

abandonment, a unified purpose, and a clear summons to action in behalf of a great end, then the chances for conflict are still numerous.

And even within the factory reforms are to be accepted only as they promise to provide an outlet for the combative energies. Those proposals which tend to depersonalize the enterprise, to render it bureaucratic, inflexible and standardized, to center thought, initiative, and control in a few hands — these are destined to kill assertiveness and eliminate that passionate struggle for accomplishment which gives life zest. What is rather needed is a forceful challenge to the abilities of every man. In the light of our knowledge of this aspect of human nature we can therefore afford to be highly critical of prospective reforms which do not liberate vital human energies and make it possible for them to struggle into fullness.

Industry is, to be sure, only one of the activities of life, occupying normally only two thirds of our waking hours. And it is not to be expected that it alone can afford a chance

for complete sublimation of the bellicose tendencies. It may be claimed that recreation of all sorts must offer this outlet or — religion, or politics, or a combination of activities in pursuit of life's purposes.

But apparently the human animal must somewhere and somehow show its teeth, if it be only so much as a slight sneer. We are dealing with the instinct originally most closely associated with the dire immediacies of self and group preservation. It is powerful with the power of life itself. It cannot be ignored. And if the labor of bread-winning occupies nearly all the waking hours, and if human beings are continually sweating in effort without making any advance, like the horses in the stage representation of Ben Hur's chariot race, something must finally break. And industry, as the *milieu* in which these cramped lives move, is likely to provide the field for the fray.

That there may, however, be alternative channels for exhibiting fighting spirit is further suggested by the discussion which was current in socialist circles at the outbreak of the

present war as to the motives behind it. There were not a few who contended that the capitalists of Europe were deliberately intent upon diverting attention and energy from the industrial conflict to the international. And this point was based on the assumption that the workers of the world were gradually gathering their forces for an effective struggle with the so-called owners of industry. Shallow as this explanation may appear, it does indicate a recognition that the instinct of pugnacity is not static or fixed in the manner or direction of its expression.

The practical implications of this discussion are manifold. But one illustration of its relevance to actual affairs must suffice. The chief of police and all his officers in every industrial center should understand the psychology of pugnacity. Picketing can with a little thought be kept legitimate and harmless; or it can with a little stupidity give a chance for an unbridled display of primitive passion. Crowds can be kept orderly and in good temper; or they can be excited to the indiscretions of mob violence. Strikers at the pitch of nervous excitement

can be kept on edge and fretted into a fury; or they can be left quietly alone and apparently disregarded until the heat of hate has cooled.[1]

It seems obvious that if we know the typical conditions which make for a show of destructive pugnacity we can guard the community and all its constituent individuals from occasions where it might become inevitable. If

[1] A paragraph from an editorial on "Strike Policies" in the *New Republic* for April 15, 1916, is suggestive in this connection: "In time we shall be forced to recognize the fact that industrial disputes are a normal, healthy element in our economic system, attended, like all other mass phenomena, by occasional pathological lapses, injurious to all parties concerned, but easily made the subject of partisan loyalty. When a strike is called, the commission will of its own volition send investigators to confer with both parties to the quarrel, to suggest means for reducing the number of points of friction, and will supply such a body of strike police as conditions may require, with power to suppress provocative action on the part of the employers as well as violence on the part of labor. Under this plan it would be possible to utilize fully the forces in both hostile camps making for the maintenance of order. The strike police would not be regarded, as ordinary police or militia now are, as hirelings or partisans of the employer. If compelled to make arrests, they should not appear, as now, to be making capital in public sentiment for the employer."

knowledge is to be of any value, it must be in this direction of protecting people from the folly of their own instinctive reactions. Given conditions at Ludlow and the show of violence was a foregone conclusion; and the same is true of the other places which have witnessed the battles and riots of our industrial warfare. Pugnacity may have its amiable phases and its positive values, but known by its fruits this instinct certainly points its finger in solemn warning at our current methods and practices in the conduct of large-scale business.

The likelihood is not great that industry will ever offer proper channels for universal and completely satisfactory expression of our fighting zeal. We must seek for some other activity. The suggestion that in recreation the individual can have his fight leads to a discussion any adequate treatment of which is beyond the scope of this essay; but a brief consideration of the play instinct will serve to indicate its place and importance in relation to the industrial problem.

CHAPTER X

THE PLAY IMPULSE

THE play impulse urges to activity in which there is little attention to conscious ends, but where the object biologically considered is (1) to learn necessary activities by playing at them, or (2) to work off surplus energy, or (3) to re-create one's self physically and in every other way. Although these three embody the important theoretical explanations of play, only the latter two are applicable to the play of adults. And perhaps only the third is of real significance in relation to the play of manual workers. For the essence of physical labor is its absorption of both muscular and nervous energy, so that instead of there being a surplus there is a deficit.

This whole essay is in one sense an explanation of why play is instinctive even for adults. Life, we are saying, demands a working adjustment among the impulses in the face of their anarchic and imperious claims for fulfill-

ment. Work does not, probably cannot, afford a complete and satisfactory fulfillment for them all. Play can and should enter to give opportunity for more satisfactory adjustment, to give opportunity for instincts and interests otherwise ignored to be expressed and harmonized. This is the reason for its peculiar importance in a day when the industrial system offers to the great majority undue latitude to the instinct to submit and to follow the lead, but provides negligible scope for all the rest.

The sort of play which is best calculated to give relaxation is still somewhat an open question. There has been too little imaginative experimenting in the "redemption of the people's leisure." We do know, however, that the sort of vicarious sport which is represented in England by the working-class betting on the horse-races and in America by its absorption in the baseball bulletins is a poor substitute for a more individual expression of blitheness, irresponsibility, love of nature, well-being in physical strength, and whatever other elements may inhere in play. We know also that

constant nervous and physical exhaustion lead, not to any normal form of relaxation, but eventually to excessive drink, sexual over-indulgence, and physical degeneracy.[1]

As the exhaustion becomes more complete the instinctive demand becomes more insistent and less discriminating. Professor Patten's [2] illustration of the working-girl's delight in the "dip the dip" and of the profound satisfaction it brings to her jaded nerves, is daily confirmed on a large scale at all the commercial recreation parks adjoining our industrial centers.

Indeed, Coney Island and its lesser luminaries adjacent to the other industrial cities of our country are fruitful laboratories for the psychologist of industry. The shows which are the most popular are those that give the sharpest excitement, the most immediate nervous stimulation. And it is interesting to see that since industry has forced the habit of

[1] See G. T. W. Patrick, *The Psychology of Relaxation.* See also Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate* (Yale University Press) for the way in which the physiological demands of unsuitable climates lead to the same results.

[2] See Simon N. Patten, *The New Basis of Civilization.*

association on a larger and larger scale, people are unable to get satisfaction for the play impulse except in a crowd. The nervous organism comes to be pitched to such a high key that none of its tendencies manifest themselves without the stimulus of a large group present and indulging in the same satisfactions. It is a grave question, in this situation, how much further strain we can impose on our physical equipment without a break. If the necessary reaction from modern industry is the greater elaboration of our amusement park technique of thrills and horrors, modern industry must plead guilty to a charge of fundamental importance. The play of the husking bee, charades, dancing at home among friends, outdoor picnics, and the other homely enjoyments is not to be sighed for simply because it attached to a simple manner of life. Its loss is to be lamented because apparently it was the more normal psychological form of play in a generation when all the claims of life on the nervous system were less wearing and exacting than is the case to-day.

Application of our knowledge about the value

of play has already led to a certain amount of recreative activity in connection with industrial establishments. Factories have baseball teams, dramatic and glee clubs, annual dances and outings, and garden contests — all with a view to securing enough change and variety in the routine of life to make it more enjoyable and to make the individual more willing and able to work. Apart from stated recreational events of definite business value as advertising or as conducing to better *esprit de corps*, of which an annual company outing is an example, it is, however, to be doubted from the point of view of human nature whether play should normally attach itself to industry rather than to the civic or neighborhood side of life. There seem to be sound psychological reasons for believing that the relaxing, irresponsible, and care-free atmosphere in which play thrives centers naturally about the older, more natural, more instinctive human groups — to wit, the family and the neighborhood — rather than about such a completely artificial thing as the modern factory in a large city. Where the factory exists as the one gathering-place of a mill

town the situation is manifestly different and recreation can function differently. But in the typical industrial city the social and recreative life normally falls into channels of home or lodge or church or neighborhood, and little or nothing is to be gained by forcing the creation of an industrial recreative unit.

Recognition of the importance of the play instinct and of the possibility of using it constructively to make amends for the inroads that industry makes upon personality is destined to lead to a new and more wisely conceived programme both in factory and community. This recognition is turning a spot-light upon the long hours, machine-like routine and absence of annual vacations in many factory organizations. It is not unlikely that the near future will see a widespread shortening of working hours, a general introduction of fifteen-minute rest and recreation periods in the middle of the morning and afternoon, and the granting of a two weeks' vacation with pay to all employees.

Not a little of the impetus of the national prohibition campaign has come from employ-

ers and some few courageous labor leaders who are persuaded that alcohol falls far short of providing workers with the ideal form of relaxation and rehabilitation. Employers and workers are both beginning to realize that for sheer survival there must be fuller and more normal satisfaction of this desire to play which has its roots in an instinctive yearning for vigorous, well-rounded, abounding life.

We have throughout our discussion used expressions to indicate that human beings are not completely driven by their impulses, but do show a critical discrimination; do appear to select in some small part the channels into which they shall direct their energies; do utilize accumulation of experience to save themselves from repeating mistakes either in giving way to impulses or in not giving them adequate expression.

In other words, we have been assuming that behavior is not naïvely instinctive, but that an element of thought enters in — an impulse to reflect — which may in its turn be a part of our instinctive equipment. We have as-

sumed, because the facts seem to call for such an assumption, that instinctive conduct is far from being synonymous with fatuous, heedless, unintelligent conduct. Let us, then, see what this other instinct is which can remove the tinge of fatuity and the curse of stupidity from behavior. To know what the characteristics of such a tendency are, and how it functions, will be vital to a clear grasp of human nature in its relation to industrial reorganization.

CHAPTER XI

THE INSTINCT OF CURIOSITY, TRIAL AND ERROR, OR THOUGHT

It is beyond the scope of this book to discuss whether there is an instinct to intellectualize. I assume that the constant alertness of human beings to carry new experiences back to their collection of past experiences and to compare one with the other is so characteristic as to be, for our purpose, instinctive. And I am further assuming that the curiosity which prompts to this comparison of past with present, also prompts to a trial of successive methods of action, and to a conscious process of trying to associate causes and effects which is an instinctive rationalizing or thought process.

That this assumption of an instinctive will to think has profound effects upon our ideas of human society is being realized on every hand.[1] And it has especial significance in a

[1] See how the implications of this assumption vitalize such widely different books as Graham Wal-

discussion of the instincts in industry if we are not to be led to the superficial conclusion that human behavior is irremediably arbitrary, capricious, and irrational.

I am not, on the other hand, saying that man is a rational animal. It is rather that he is a rationalizing animal. His other instincts must be stirred to their very depths for him to act without some element of reflection figuring in his conduct. The occasions when one or even a complex of cruder instincts take the reins are comparatively rare. A crowd in an angry passion, a thoroughly frightened person, an individual in the heat of sexual desire, may act "instinctively" — as we say. But for most conduct there is instinctively a weighing of probabilities and conflicting claims which sets at nought the attempt to pigeonhole action or analyze it with undue refinements. In qualification of this statement I

las, *The Great Society;* Walter Lippmann, *Drift and Mastery;* Bertrand Russell, *Why Men Fight;* A. E. (George Russell), *The National Being;* H. G. Wells, *The Research Magnificent;* Anonymous, *The Great Analysis;* A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth;* John Dewey, *Creative Intelligence,* chap. I.

must add, however, that the extent to which rationalization is indulged in, depends upon factors such as the amount of the individual's surplus energy, the habits of the community in education, and its general level of intelligence.

Indeed, the first and most interesting question which presents itself in connection with this instinct is as to the circumstances which give rise to its activity. What are the occasions for and the objects of curiosity or thought? How can thought, if it does have important survival value, be fostered and encouraged? This question is so important that I intend to discuss this instinct from quite a different angle than the rest. From the behavioristic point of view it is difficult to know or state the degree of thought which enters into a given act, since the whole method of the behavioristic psychology is to study any given act — the behavior — objectively, without inquiry into the conscious processes of the actor. Nor would the use of introspection or any so-called "psycho-analysis" help us greatly to find out how much deliberate thought has contributed

to the modification of conduct. Hence discussion of typical activities is not of prime value in this connection. Confronted, as we are, by an impulse which appears to have made such a relatively poor showing in humanity's career, maximum value will be derived from this study if we examine the reasons for its prolonged suppression, — or at least inactivity, — and consider the efforts which are necessary for its liberation. To do this we must first find out under what conditions thought is provoked or required.

The few suggestions which follow, as to what are the most successful stimuli to rationalization, are made tentatively, however, because it is obvious that nearly all experience demands and succeeds in securing some measure of reflection upon it. The simple answer to the question as to what will provoke thought would be to say that any activity and any perceived object may be the occasion of thought (as distinct from perception). But in relation to the present inquiry I am particularly interested to discover how, if at all, the functioning of this instinct can modify the opera-

tion of all the rest as they manifest themselves in industrial behavior. I shall, therefore, specify what actions and objects appear to me as most provocative of curiosity and thought; and then proceed to discuss the practical procedure necessary to release the thought impulse in industry.

There is curiosity as to why things happen.

There is curiosity as to how things happen and how they can be made to happen differently.

There is curiosity as what is a fair proportion of activity among the various impulses of human nature; in other words, —

There is curiosity as to how the instinctive cravings of human beings can be adjusted to the immediate circumstances of life.

There is curiosity as to how the circumstances and institutions of life can be so ordered as to harmonize with the claims and limitations of human nature.

There is curiosity as to how in all of the above pursuits ends can be achieved with the minimum of effort, along lines of least resistance.

In a word, this instinct has profound survival value. We are curious about the working of affairs that concern our existence and well-being. We are forced to be so concerned in order to modify our environment to life and to adapt life to its environment.

Why, then, is it so difficult to think? Why is there so little thought — in this sense of a curious, critical, persistent study of past experiences with a view to making future experience more palatable and life more happy?

I raise these questions here not so much because their answer forms a part of this study as because they inevitably arise. And they arise with some insistence if we are trying to discover how the instincts do and should function in industry.

I suggest, therefore, that thought demands attendant conditions of the following favorable character.

There must first be sufficient individual energy and vitality. Our thought product is directly dependent upon a curious "nervous energy" which, while it may not exactly flow from a surplus of physical energy, is to some

extent conditional upon it, as that in turn is dependent on the weather, climate, the digestion, heredity, and the rest.

There must be time and leisure if there is to be productive thought.

There must be a habit of thought, and an atmosphere in which the habit is at least not discouraged. If a suggestion is presented, this instinct, like the others, tends to act upon it. If, on the other hand, the situation is such that the habit of submission, acceptance, and conformity to the "cake of custom" is ascendant, thought is difficult, and, from the point of view of immediate results, not very useful.

There must be the stimulus of a recognized problem or dilemma or hardship. Consciousness of the need of adjustment to surrounding conditions and events is the *raison d'être* of thought.

The possession of commanding aims, ends, and purposes can be a powerful stimulus to thinking.

Finally, and second to none as an important condition, there must be a method of thinking. We are not natively sound reasoners. The

scientific method comes hard, and *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argumentation dies slowly. The trial-and-error method of gaining knowledge is, to be sure, a naïve one, but it is a painfully slow method of procedure in comparison with that device of experimentation where the several variable factors are under control and where hypotheses can be formulated and tested at will.

This rehearsal of familiar truths about the successful functioning of the thought process is of value because it brings to light the reasons why thinking is so rare not only among manual workers, but among us all. Nearly all the illustrations I have used thus far can be used to show how infrequently all the favorable attendant conditions of sound thought are to be met. Indeed the situation is so serious that further illustration of the absence of right attendant conditions for thought is needed to establish the point with perfect clearness.

A surplus of nervous and physical energy has never been the common heritage of laborers. Those from among the manual workers

who have shown unusual energy have been spotted all too rapidly and converted into foremen; and as such their interests and loyalty have gradually gone over to the employers. And since the direction which energy takes as it is being expended has a great deal to do with determining the things about which we shall think, it is easy to see why the attitude of foremen is one of indifference to working-class problems. Indeed, the typical-up-from-the-ranks foreman is likely to be particularly inflexible toward his men.

There is a sound psychological reason for this. The foreman has expended an extraordinary amount of energy in impressing his employer with his worth and fitness to be foreman. He has come early and stayed late, taken work home or thought out problems at home, has striven to embrace those qualities of submission, loyalty, and industry which the employer desires. In many cases he has become thoroughly fatigued in the pursuit of his position of foremanship and the fatigue converts itself into loathing and disgust for the things against which he has had to fight.

And one of the most insistent of these things was his own sense as he worked along in the ranks that his interests were divided, and that he must bring harmony out of the division — a harmony in which his interests were to be not one with the workers' but one with the employer's. He saw, for example, that the eight-hour day obstructed his path to foremanship; that a uniform weekly wage rate offered him no extra compensation for extra effort; that he as worker had other rights to protect, which as prospective company-man he must ignore. In other words, the very surplus energy which gives rise to ambition turns the direction of this exceptional workman's thought from workers' to employer's problems. This skimming-off of the cream of leadership which might with advantage stay at the top of the labor movement explains, as much as any one thing can, the paucity of strong leaders in the American labor movement. The conditions and capacities which are required for the successful leadership of labor are also required — and are paid for more generously and immediately — in the management of

factories. If we could know the number of capable union agents who have risen to foreman's rank and never renewed their union membership, we should have at hand the unmistakable explanation of the unfortunately mediocre abilities which too many union officials display.

As for those courageous, energetic ones who do remain to lead the labor movement, their place is achieved at such terrific cost of time in petty administration and intellectual conformity to familiar group purposes and dogmas that it is well-nigh impossible to expect vital, affirmative thought from them. Energy that might go to blaze a trail is consumed in gaining the right to be known as a trail-blazer.

The present situation in the American labor movement is amenable to precisely this interpretation. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor have fostered that movement from its infancy. The organization in all its thirty years has had, with the exception of one year, but one president. In consequence the national organization officially sanctions many policies long since discarded by many

of the affiliated organizations and less prominent leaders. There has been for several years an increasingly severe contest for leadership between the dominant faction and that headed by avowed socialists. Up to the present the old guard, although still rallying under familiar battle-cries, has held the field. In consequence, able and devoted as the present leadership has been in bringing the movement to its present significant place, it is to-day unquestionably lacking in creative intellectual energy. And we are witnessing the familiar spectacle of a large group following the leader in a devotion which betokens inertia, uncritical loyalty, and an absence of realistic thinking.

As there must be energy, so there must be leisure for thought. And the working-class poverty in leisure is a commonplace.

It is n't that people stand about in their leisure hours and "have ideas" *in vacuo*. But there is a whole process of mental stimulation which comes from personal contacts, a reading of the daily news and weekly comment, and the visit at church, lodge, or labor union. And

this sort of pleasant excitement and exchange does not take place often enough for the man who is at his bench ten hours a day, and dozing beside the kitchen stove until he retires at nine or ten o'clock at night. No more vivid proof of this difficulty is to be seen than in our public night schools. Many earnest foreigners gather there to learn English and civics. Sessions are usually from seven until nine in the evening. It is the testimony of pupils and teachers alike that learning is slow and the tendency to listlessness and drowsiness almost insurmountable. The writer has been present in night schools where there were students sound asleep with their heads in their arms on the desk. It takes exceptional energy to fight off the results of long hours of work.

But, some one may ask, why cannot workers "think" while they work? The organized cigar-makers in some cities hire a reader to sit on a raised stand among them and read aloud for a certain period each day. These men, however, have the advantage of a hand trade with no machines; they work on light, noiseless material with a uniform and com-

paratively simple operation to perform. These conditions are exceptional. The noise of the loom, the power sewing-machine, the compressed-air drill, the power-transmission belting — these familiar concomitants of the modern shop minimize the possibility of thought and conversation even if there were not other distractions incident to doing the job. Our answer to the question is, therefore, that to-day the nature of work is such that on the whole the conditions are the exact opposite of those which conduce to thought.

There arises, then, a second question as to why workers do not make more effective use of the leisure which they have. We hear much querulous scolding at the working-class for not having "intellectual interests" — not using time effectually.[1] But what is an effective use of leisure? We have already pointed out that for sound biological reasons a less respon-

[1] Rebecca West, in the *New Republic* of October 13, 1917, cites a typical illustration of this attitude: "At a time when most munitions makers were on twelve-hour shifts I heard a woman who was going to become a welfare worker say, 'I shall enjoy teaching the poor creatures how to use their spare time.'"

sible, more purposeless activity is essential to the human organism submitted to the constant strain of the one-sided activity of modern factory work. The need of the normal person who has done his day's labor is not for different work, like intellectual effort, but for play — re-creation. The only circumstances under which we can ever hope for sound thinking are those which will demand the absorption of less energy, "take less out of" men, and give them a leisure which need not be wholly preëmpted by the necessity for relaxation and rest.

I have said that there must be a habit and atmosphere conducive to thought. So rare is this in the life of the average worker that I turn again to accessible literary illustrations to exemplify the point. Typical of the atmosphere in which much working life is lived is that depicted in "The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists."[1] The good fellows who were unable to follow the somewhat pedantic discourses of the hero of that tale had lived their whole lives in a muddled atmosphere

[1] See *ante*, p. 27.

of newspaper catch phrases, tobacco smoke, and whiskey fumes until consecutive intellectual effort had become impossible. On the other hand, the earnest, eager group of Russian Jewish radicals pictured for us in "Comrade Yetta" breathed an air in which books and ideas and intellectual pursuits were the common property of all and by which all were stirred to their bit of intellectual achievement.

But the atmosphere of intellectual avidity in which our Russian Jews thrive cannot be taken as characteristic of the mental environment of all American manual workers. We have rather to remember that the results of contemporary grammar-school instruction on the human thinking apparatus are not encouraging and that, despite this grave fact, about ninety per cent of our children get no other formal stimulus to intellection. The result is easily foreseen. Conformity in all lines of thought and action is looked upon as the great virtue.

It is a mistake to think of the rank and file of workmen as radicals. They are not; they

are religiously, politically, and economically "orthodox" with a tendency toward progressivism.[1] We see in their life the insidious potency of the instinct to be led. And when this tendency dominates, where there is a pervasive sense of restfulness and ease in accepting the ideas of priest, ward boss, employer, or trade-union official, there is little encouragement to originality, curiosity, and thought. When, however, we consider that a condition of hardship or intolerable injustice is another possible prod to thought, it would seem that the manual workers of to-day are amply goaded.

The difficulty here is that for various reasons there is not among the workers, except sporadically and occasionally, any compelling recognition of their own hardship, of the problems, and dilemmas to which their subjection bears witness. The suggestions that reach the worker through the press, pulpit, and plat-

[1] Intimate studies of working class neighborhoods in this country confirm this view. See Lillian Wald, *The House on Henry Street;* R. A. Woods, *Americans in Process;* R. A. Woods, *The City Wilderness;* Mary K. Simkhovitch, *The American City Workers' World.*

form are largely in the nature of red herring drawn — sometimes deliberately — across the troubled track of life. Repetition of the catch phrases of politics, the artificially stimulated enthusiasm for professional baseball, the playing-up of the sensational murder or divorce are among the activities calculated not only to nullify the thought process, and to negate suggestions of hardship and oppressiveness in working-class living conditions, but also to occupy leisure time fully with matters which are of only transient interest and of no significance.

It is in relation to precisely this fact that the psychological meaning of the older socialists' constant harping on the importance of "class consciousness" is to be understood. "Class consciousness" is intended to connote not so much a stirring to physical conflict or trial at arms as a consciousness of exploitation, expropriation, and "wage slavery"; recognition that capitalism means chronic over-production with the search for foreign markets and consequent wars, with recurring cycles of depression and unemployment —

in all of which the worker is regarded as simply the "labor commodity." The workers are urged to be class conscious because that means having an acute sense of existing personal injustice and externally determined misery, which will prick to thought, action, and solidarity.

The reasons why this appeal has not bitten more deeply into the minds of the workers in this country become plainer in the light of this study. They are, it would seem, the very reasons that we are advancing to show why thought itself is not more prevalent. The socialist propaganda has had the handicap of being to a considerable degree couched in an academic, intellectualistic lingo which was less reflective of an accurate analysis of American conditions than of an exegesis of Marx uncritically applied to them. For a long time American socialists were not at pains to meet the working-class on its own ground. They have themselves been the victims of their devotion to a leader exactly as were the workers they were exhorting to "awake" and "unite."

The Marxians can point the moral also to another tale. In the first instance they were

close and serious thinkers passionately in search of that truth which would set the workers free. Later the evidences of dogmatism were unmistakable;[1] and the difficulty of securing straight thinking great. This course of events is all too familiar in the history of ideas. Dogmatism, although not the inevitable result of thinking, has constantly to be guarded against as the thought process flows on. There is but one antidote for this condition;—be sure that the process which goes on is a *thought* process and not one simply reiterative of ideas worked out when energy, patience, and a spirit of inquiry were at the maximum. It is only such a persistent effort in thinking close to the facts which will lead workers to understand that their present condition is neither foreordained nor necessary.

Another way of stating this point, that there must be consciousness of maladjustment to arouse thought, is to say that there must be a desire for a better standard of living. This

[1] See Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, *Marxism versus Socialism*. See also in order that the whole controversy may be available, I. M. Rubinow, *Was Marx Wrong?*

standard is largely a psychological conception that derives from the activity of the instincts of family, self-assertion, possessiveness, and the desire to have not only the means of existence assured, but also an opportunity for leisure, companionship, and thought. The agencies which point the way to a higher standard — be they advertisements of desirable comforts, novels, moving pictures, glimpses of well-born and cultivated people — are agencies of discontent and precursors of the stirring question, "How can I be more like that?" It is, in fact, to this popularization of the rudiments of culture and refinement that we owe the feeling of insecurity felt by the present holders of power in church, state, and industry. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing, not to those who have it, but to those who have more knowledge and have abused the power that it brings.

Are we, then, brought to this dilemma, that we become discontented only when we think and that we think only when we become discontented? The answer must be in the negative. We are discontented because we are

human, because our impulses in their constant impact on life never come to an equilibrium — that is, to harmonious adjustment with our environment. And it is the function of thought to help us secure that adjustment and approach an equilibrium as a limit.

The extent of discontent among manual workers has been affirmed again and again in this discussion. Yet I have also emphasized the underlying trend to orthodoxy and submissiveness in working-class opinion. The two are really obverse sides of the same phenomenon. If I have stressed the part played by submissiveness, it is not to deny the existence of discontent, but rather to imply that a repression of impulses is now taking place. Formidable suppressed desires are being created which must some day come to an abortive expression in the course of which little thought will be possible, just as little thought is possible when one is pursued by a river which has broken over its dikes. Submission is present because submission has been necessary for survival; but discontent is also simultaneously present because some more adequate expres-

sion of the other instincts is also necessary to survival. The time comes when people weighing the evils which they endure in one hand and those involved in an effort toward release in the other, decide in favor of the latter; and thus, if judgment has been wisely exercised, secure relief and survival.

If, now, over and above the desire to be adjusted to one's environment or to improve one's standard of living there exists a purpose for future fulfillment — such as "the kingdom of God on earth" or "socialism" or the "coöperative commonwealth" — this purpose may also become a fruitful source of thought as to the best means of realizing it. Or it may, as I have hinted, through the influence of dogma seal the mind to thought so that exaltation becomes a curse. Similarly, thought may be inhibited by a rapt contemplation of the end desired. These familiar truths are interestingly illustrated in the contrasted policies of the English Fabian Society and in the orthodox socialist attitude in America as we see it manifested in the party press. The English organization has been opportun-

ist and constructive in interest and effort, seeking to work out step by step the details of democratic government in a great industrial commonwealth. The American party has tended to set a rather static "socialism according to Marx" as its goal and anathematized measures and advances which were in the direction of "social reform." All new ideas are brought to the touchstone of a given dogma and praised or blamed as they correspond with a preconceived criterion.

Another undoubted, although less tangible, source of inhibition to thought has been the belief that the injustices of this world are to be righted in the next; that although earth is a "desert drear" a heaven of great comfort is in store. Escape as the chief aim in life has always proved sure death to realistic intellection.

Fortunately the purposes of life which are dominant to-day are more provocative and more immediately compelling. Industrial injustice gets its hold upon our minds and hearts because of hopes of brotherhood, fraternity, democracy — and similar aims more or less

definitely conceived. Back of the A.F. of L., back of the I.W.W., lie deep-rooted aspirations of this generous character which, at least in a general way, give momentum and direction to the attitude and policy of those organizations.

There remains to consider the importance of a method of thinking. The dogmatism of social groups of all sorts — political parties, trade-unions, churches — grows from the fact of group submissiveness and inertia. But it also grows from the sheer inability of group members to think critically, positively, and clearly. Why is the A.F. of L. still reluctant to support a legislatively secured eight-hour day for men? Has there been an exhaustive compilation of relevant evidence? Have the cases where it has been tried been studied to see the effect on unionism? Why is the A.F. of L. so absolutely opposed to the scientific management movement? I am not raising here any question as to the rightness of their opposition,[1] but rather as to the method of

[1] I might with equal relevance ask why the leaders of the scientific management movement have been so

arriving at important judgments. Has it studied the effects of work on the workers in scientifically managed shops? Has it found out exactly what the workers in those shops think about the system? Does it know the relative importance of the different elements of the "Taylor System" in different shops in the light of recent partial applications of Taylor's methods? I am not citing the attitude of the A.F. of L. in any invidious spirit; it simply furnishes a convenient and familiar illustration (of which there are legion in all classes of society) of the lack of an impartial, scientific habit of thought and inquiry on problems regarding which it has very positive convictions.

This is not the place to expound the scientific method of thinking. My attempt is simply to emphasize that the scientific method is still relatively unknown and unused. By a great majority of people ideas are rarely accepted after a process of examination of the

bitter against the unions. A brief but suggestive statement of the elements of this controversy from the employer's point of view is to be found in C. Bertrand Thompson, *The Theory and Practice of Scientific Management.* Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917.

facts out of which they grow. The tendency of the human organism is to get along on as narrow a margin of intellectual effort as possible. An attempt to justify all one's ideas by a study of their correspondence to the realities of any situation is an effort made only on strong provocation by persons of extraordinary energy and spirit.

This last statement does not, of course, contradict my point that the initial impulsion to thinking is instinctive. If we bear in mind that the instincts exist to conduce to self and group preservation, it becomes clear that the survival value of thought will vary from time to time, just as does the survival value of fighting. And exactly as it is true to say that we get on with as little fighting as we safely can, so it is logical to conclude that most of us think only when and to the extent that we are forced to. That this does not set necessarily narrow limits to the thought function will be clear when we recollect the great number of problems which to-day confront society for solution if we would have any peace of mind or comfort of body.

One further important fact about the operation of thought remains to be noted. I refer to the effect of fear on thought. Fear paralyzes the mind and inhibits thought. Fear is the emotional accompaniment of real or supposed danger to the individual or group. In a situation where the terror of annihilation is present no new ideas can enter. The attention is hypnotized by the one problem of getting out of danger — of self-preservation.

This fact is of great significance in the industrial world. At the core of existence for many workers is a paralyzing fearfulness: fear that the job is going to stop; fear that the doctor's bill will be too great; fear that another child is to be born — fear, in other words, that income will prove inadequate for decent livelihood. Life lived constantly under or near to such a cloud of terrorism can never know the meaning of real thought; can contribute little to the energies and effective protest of group revolt. The "slum proletariat" has ever been recognized as that remnant of the working-class which could be reached last by the customary methods of labor agitation and organization.

Does the evidence indicate overwhelmingly, then, that this job of thinking is one which is undertaken infrequently and with little success? I answer that this seems now to be the case; but that it need be the case I am less prepared to admit. Rather must we be at pains, in view of our knowledge of the necessary conditions, the difficulties, and the importance of thought, to create situations in which intellection becomes more possible and more easy. The proper "organization of thought"[1] is a problem crying out for intensive deliberation and invention. Upon successful accomplishment in this direction will depend the rapidity of our progress in bringing the facts of human nature and the practices of industry into working harmony.

But think what we lack to-day: physical vitality, leisure, habits of thought, a recognition of hardship, clear social purposes or any purposes at all, a right and economical method of thinking. When, and only when, we are prepared on a universal basis to make good these deficiencies, can we expect people to become

[1] See Graham Wallas, *The Great Society*, chap. xi.

thoughtful, intelligent, and mentally active. Happily none of these attendant conditions are impossible to secure, once we set out to get them. Thus far there has not been enough popular faith in the possibility of wise, human control of life to make us undertake to universalize intelligence. The day is coming, however, when we shall have a real vision of the happiness which an intelligent control of the world's material and spiritual forces can bring. And when that day comes, we shall call into play, as we never yet have, the human being's native desire to be intellectually master of his fate.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

Our sketch of the characteristic types of instinctive behavior among workers in modern industry is now completed. The attempt has been to suggest, in connection with each of a number of undeniably influential instinctive endowments, what their effect upon conduct is and can be expected to be. The facts are matters of common observation. What, then, do they mean? Do they mean that our instincts are playing at hide and seek with each other and with us; that conduct is "predetermined," capricious, and subject to the pull and haul of impulses — as if it were a carcass being pulled in as many directions as there are hungry wolves with teeth embedded in its flesh? Or can we point to some place where the element of plan and will and intention enter in? Can we from this array of incidents deduce any valid conclusions as to a sound relation between the conduct of industry and the conduct of the individual?

Human nature in the sense of being a total of innate tendencies cannot, it is true, be changed. It is given. But our reactions to situations change whether we wish it or not, and they can be made to change both in kind and in degree. The causes of some of these changes we have already indicated. A more complete list of the influences which can enter to modify instinctive reactions is now necessary as serving to emphasize not only the strength and number of forces which alter the expression of native tendencies, but also the subtlety required in analysis.

Observation shows that the following influences are among the most important in their modifying effect on individual conduct: There are the environmental factors to which adaptation is made for purposes of survival; namely, climate and weather. Instinctive responses will vary with the degree and kind of stimulation, with the motives which individuals or groups have conceived as actuating their conduct, with the sex, with the relative strength of instincts inherited by the individual, with the age and physical condition of the individual

and with his race, with the habits instilled in youth and the institutions which prevail in the community, with the system of education, and with the meaning which is imputed to life.

With such an array of variants and modifiers to our instinctive responses I will seem bold, indeed, in venturing to assert that one value of a closer knowledge of the operation of instinct is as an aid in forecasting conduct. But such is nevertheless the case. As our knowledge increases and as our technique of human analysis develops,[1] the elements of

[1] An interesting concrete case in point comes to hand in a recent report (Memorandum 18) of the British Health of Munition Workers Committee. In studying how to secure maximum output with a minimum of fatigue it has become possible for Dr. Vernon to prophesy variations in the quantity of product through the week as well as to say approximately how many hours a week can profitably be spent by an individual at his machine. For example, he says, regarding a group of eighty women whom he studies, "had these women been working uniformly a nominal fifty-hour week, their gross output would have been as large as when they were working a nominal sixty-six-hour week, and considerably greater than when they were working a seventy-seven-hour week. In other words, a considerable addition to the leisure time of the operative would have substantially improved the output of the factory."

each situation tend to stand out in clearer relief and the forces at work to produce new situations become more capable of estimation and even measurement. Our increasing prophetic power is not, of course, to be applied in any meticulous or trivial way. The predictability of conduct stands rather as a broad truth to be broadly applied. There is no occasion to let the mind run riot as to unessential details of the prospective conduct of individuals or groups. But there is every reason to understand the social and economic conditions and characteristics of a town, state, or nation which are manifestly repressing human nature and making life ignoble and mean. For we do know how human nature has reacted to certain typical situations. We know the limits of human endurance. We know increasingly the potentialities of people under stated limitations.

More than this is a necessary prerequisite, however, of any accurate guess as to the response which human nature will make under defined circumstances. It must also be established that under the same stimuli and with

similar attendant surroundings human nature will react in identical ways; that it is, in other words, subject to law. Whether the scattering evidence which has been here brought together lends plausibility to the assertion that the elements of human nature are subject to law, remains, of course, for the reader to determine. But that like stimuli produce like responses would seem to be a fair inference from our facts. The history of familiar working-class behavior from the Jewish uprisings in Egypt against Pharaoh, through the revolts of the Spartan slaves, the propaganda of the Gracchi, and the overthrow of the feudal lords, down to the proletarian movements of to-day, bears witness to a similar response to psychologically analogous situations.

Moreover, a forecasting of conduct is made more and more possible, easy, and socially useful because it implies among other things a close study of the individual and of his environment. The very complexity of human motivation and endowments invites special "case" analysis. We cannot modify activity or divert conduct into safe channels unless we

know our man. The first enormous gain of a psychological approach to industry is a new sense of the importance of the individual personality,[1] and of the limits within which it works. The individual or the specific group achieves a place in constructive thought about situations, which is not only more conspicuous than formerly, but more provocative of wise emphasis in the future. Under these circumstances treatment of people becomes more considerate, discerning, and deft. "The discovery of the individual" takes place, of course, recurrently every few generations. But to see the individual as a compact of ascertainable impulses and tendencies joining with other individuals of like structure to carry on the vast modern enterprise of our economic life, is to see empires in terms at once realistic, vivid, and wieldy. It is to get a really new and fresh outlook on people and progress.

[1] Compare *The Athenæum* (English), August, 1917, p. 382: "The significance of the new trend of thought in trade-unionism and of syndicalism and Guild socialism, lies in the fact that they are a reaction against the sacrifice of the producer to the consumer. They proclaim the doctrine that a place must be found for human personality in industry."

This is an incalculable gain. Industry has been in danger of losing sight of the person. Now we get back to people — to men and women whose passions energize the structure of industry. Workers cease to be "hands" and numbers, and become human beings. We hear much of "humanizing" our industrial system. What is involved in this is nothing more nor less than a discovery of personalities, a knowledge of their human natures, and an effort to give those natures a chance.

No exhaustive analysis of the elementary characteristics of people has been here attempted. But we have seen that certain outstanding traits are causally related to much of the prevailing conduct in modern industry. And a knowledge of the human tendencies — from the parental through the entire list to curiosity — has thrown light on events which may heretofore have seemed to be without sense or reason. The individual is now seen as a compact of ascertainable impulses, who acts as he does because known forces, external and internal, are at work to influence his behavior.

The individualization of industry demands,

however, something more than a regard for the conduct of each person separately. Sound analysis demands that such study be inextricably tied up with the attempt to apply our fragmentary knowledge about the structure, functions, and characteristics of groups and group behavior. We have seen how largely the conduct of men is determined by their group associations, and it is idle to suppose that in the absence of light upon their loyalties and attachments we can calculate their individual reactions. To be sure, our knowledge about group reactions is far from adequate, but there is sufficient promise in what we have to afford encouragement. It seems probable, for example, that there is great practical value in the application of the idea that instincts, if not expressed or successfully diverted into channels of equivalent impulsive value, are a source of increasing danger as the suppression goes on. If it is true that three alternatives are present in the working-out of all natural tendencies; namely, expression, suppression, or sublimation — this opens up an extraordinary field for social experimenta-

tion. The possibilities in the direction of sublimation of those traits for which civilization seems to have comparatively little use, appear to be infinite. In one sense the central problem of progress hinges upon this very question. Can people, our study forces us to ask, find in the institutions and environment of modern life conditions which allow for proper play of all the inherent impulses which demand expression and some measure of satisfaction? And this problem, we must understand, is preponderantly a group problem. For to-day, as never before, we live in such immediate contact with so many people that our satisfactions and activities have to come to us largely in group events and in the behavior of people associated together for special purposes, of which the purpose of producing goods in industry is the one to which we here have given special attention.

The conduct of groups in industry, like that of individuals, is also to be more readily understood when we know even a little about the moving energies out of which it proceeds. This means, of course, that a change in causes

will bring a change in effects. And experience shows that this is true. If, to take an example which is impossible only in degree, a twenty-five per cent increase in the wages of all members of a mill community would in a given period of time halve the arrests, would increase the births, reduce the sick-rate by twenty per cent, and add forty per cent to the saving banks' deposits, there would seem to exist in human affairs an element of organic relationship which opens the door to wise control and effective interposition.

In other words, industry discovers again the precious value of each individual. But that value, we now see, is to be realized only as we give measurable latitude to the behavior of groups — trade-unions, coöperative societies, political parties — no less than to the activities of the individuals within them. If we are really to set up personality as one of the major ends in life, we must see to it that all the impulses secure expression; and not the least important of these is the desire (and necessity) for concerted action in associations of various sorts. Personality as a touchstone requires the pro-

vision of chances for rounded self-expression and for conscious self-direction. The institutional arrangements which assure these are naturally democratic in method and in spirit. The demand for a recognition and for a free play of instincts in industry ends, if the testimony of this study is accurate, in a demand for democracy in industry.

Our facts, therefore, appear to have brought us to several fairly definite conclusions:—

First, that the causes of the conduct of individuals and groups are knowable. Although there are subtleties and complexities we can come to approximate knowledge of the origins of the characteristic reactions of people to given types of situations. We can begin to answer with some beginnings of accuracy the question which is so often put: "Why do they act that way?"

Second, that human nature and its elements are subject to law—a fact from which we may properly derive a modicum of hope and encouragement as to the future of the race; because this fact carries with it the conclusion:—

Third, that conduct, if subject to law, can be controlled if we can control its causes. Human nature will respond in varying ways to varying stimuli, and if we supply a stimulus which is calculated to evoke only the more socially beneficent impulses of human beings (assuming that we know which these are), we can rely upon the desired reactions taking place.

Fourth, that the determining conditions of conduct, being in origin economic, geographic, physiological, and psychological, are definitely capable of a measure of manipulation and variation.

Fifth, that since adequate expression of individual and group impulses requires a considerable measure of self-direction, it seems not unlikely that the demand for an extension of the democratic method is in fundamental harmony with the facts of human psychology.

We seem, therefore, to be entitled to a point of view toward the problems of adjusting industry to instinct which is on the whole hopeful and affirmative. Reasons, remedies, and new criteria begin to materialize where many

have thought that only caprice and chance obtained. Human nature begins to seem more comprehensible, more tangible, more susceptible of approach and control. And people, as we see them in their active associations and individual preoccupations, take on a certain significance and richness of which the machine era has tended utterly to strip them. Each stands out strikingly different and unique, yet all conform broadly to a common (and increasingly understandable) type. Each presents a problem of adjustment and growth which is fascinating in its delicacy and infinite in its possibilities. We get a fine sense of the artistry of life; of a potential flowering of personality which will give to life the grace and charm of a waste place made beautiful with trees and flowers. We know that if only we had the patience and insight to see each other as we are, we should not be racked wanderers "on the sea of life enisled," but comrades on a joyous quest.

Are we, then, to say that industry must square its practices with the facts of our human structure and impulses? Or are we to

say that human nature must by some wise discipline be made more amenable to the purposes of our economic life? Or are we rather to say that knowing the demands which industry must set itself to supply and knowing human nature as it is, we should seek both institutions and purposes for life which will make possible a reconciliation of our needs, our knowledge, and our limitations?

Such questions inevitably present themselves in reflection upon our facts. But the answers to them lead out and beyond the field of immediate inquiry. I shall be content if the foregoing suggestions and questions about the springs of human behavior throw some light upon the confused affairs of modern industry; give a sharpness of outline to its most salient defects; and hint ever so tentatively and broadly at the kind of economic organization we must demand if human nature is to be coped with and the richness of human life enhanced.

THE END

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